MARCH 13 / MARCH 20, 2023

TIME

OUR 100th YEAR

ME
Is
God
Dea
TIME
REGULAR DEMOCRATIC NOMINATI
VOTE
Delete "Facebook"?
Cancel
Delete
You.
-TODAY-
in ROOM 301-
"THE BIRDS AND THE BEES"
(AND MUCH MUCH MORE!)
BITTER PILL
THE
NCREDIBL
HRINKIN
PRESIDEN
ME
24

VISIT…

LANZAROTE
Caliente.com

TIME
VOL. 201, NOS. 9–10 | 2023

9
The Brief

25
The View

34
The First 100 Years of TIME

Highlights and history from the more than 5,000 issues published since March 3, 1923

40
Women of the Year 2023

Recognizing 12 of this moment's extraordinary leaders in the quest for a more equal world

60
Patients Out Of Patience

A new health crisis is emerging: Americans simply giving up on an unwieldy and overpriced medical system

By Jamie Ducharme

65
Time Off

TIME's reception area in 1960 included a "Time-Life Chair" designed by Herman Miller

Photograph by Margaret Norton—The LIFE Picture Collection/Shutterstock

TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published twice a month by TIME USA, LLC. **PRINCIPAL OFFICE:** 3 Bryant Park, New York, NY 10036. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. **POSTMASTER:** Send all UAA to CFS (See DMM 507.1.5.2); **Non-Postal and Military Facilities:** Send address corrections to Time Magazine, PO BOX 37508 Boone, IA 50037-0508. Canada Post Publications Mail Agreement # 40069223. BN# 704925882RT0001.

© 2023 TIME USA, LLC. All rights reserved. Printed in the U.S.A.

CUSTOMER SERVICE AND SUBSCRIPTIONS: For 24/7 service, please use our website: ***www.time.com/myaccount.*** You can also call 1-800-843-8463 or write Time Magazine PO Box 37508 Boone, IA 50037-0508.

Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is strictly prohibited. Your bank may provide updates to the card information we have on file. You may opt out of this service at any time. ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆

TIME LEADERS THEN AND NOW. *At left: Briton Hadden, left, and Luce, center, showing off the magazine to an Ohio politician; at right, clockwise from top left: CMO Sadé Muhammad, Felsenthal, COO Ian Orefice, creative director D.W. Pine, director of photography Katherine Pomerantz, Sibley, and chief HR officer Ali Hernandez*

LEFT: THE LIFE PICTURE COLLECTION/SHUTTERSTOCK; RIGHT: KIM BUBELLO FOR TIME

The March of TIME

THIS ISSUE IS, FOR ALL OF US AT *TIME*, AN EXTRAordinarily special one. Publishing 100 years since our brand came to life as a 32-page weekly, it is a marker of constancy and change. Constancy in our unwavering commitment to trusted journalism that tells the world's story through the people who shape it. Change in so many ways, but most important in the stories themselves and the ways we tell them.

One measure of the distance of 10 decades: On the cover of that March 3, 1923, issue: "Uncle Joe" Cannon, the then 86-year-old retiring Speaker of the House who, as TIME put it, "represents the Old Guard in the very flower of its maturity." A century later in this issue, our focus is on leaders disrupting the Old Guard: TIME's 2023 Women of the Year, a now annual franchise amending the record of a magazine that at its outset was explicitly for "busy men." Today, of course, we tell these and all of our stories not only in print but also across all of our digital, video, and social platforms to an audience of more than 100 million people around the world, by far the largest in our history.

***TIME*'S CO-FOUNDER HENRY LUCE** saw business as an exercise in foresight, and the company he launched was from the start an innovator. Out of TIME's pages sprang numerous new businesses and brands, from *Fortune* and *Sports Illustrated* to, decades later, *People* and HBO. TIME itself evolved from print to documentaries and feature films even in its earliest days, winning an Oscar in 1937 for a news series known as *The March of TIME*. Long before the internet, it pioneered now ubiquitous formats, from the news brief (the original prospectus decreed that no article could be longer than 400 words) to quizzes and memes. It changed the American vocabulary itself, bringing into the lexicon words like *tycoon* and *pundit*.

As we begin our second century, that spirit of innovation and disruption inspires us every day. At this moment of massive transformation in our industry and the world we cover, we are more committed than ever before to ensuring that our company and our journalism thrive in the decades to come. In the coming months as we implement the future-forward plan we call TIME 3.0, you'll see deepened focus and new experiences on our digital platforms; incredible new films from our TIME Studios division, which has produced dozens of documentaries and specials for nearly every major streaming platform since its launch three years ago; amazing live events all over the world, including one in Los Angeles to celebrate the TIME Women of the Year on International Women's Day, March 8; and much more.

It seems fitting that, looking back at the first magazine of 1923, one rubric has made it through the full century to today: the Milestones column, which marks historic moments in the world. As we reach our own Milestone, we are honored by the continued trust of our customers and of those whose stories we are privileged to tell. We are grateful to our TIME colleagues who bring these stories to life; to TIME's owners, Marc and Lynne Benioff; and to our audiences around the world for their support of our work and our mission. To quote Lynne, "If it's history, it's in TIME, and if it's in TIME, it's history." Thank you for being part of ours.

Jessica Sibley,
CEO
@JSIBO

Edward Felsenthal,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
@EFELSENTHAL

SECRET SALUTES THE WOMEN OF THE YEAR AND THE FUTURE WOMEN OF THE YEAR

Secret®

Our 100th Birthday Cover

WHAT TO PUT ON THE COVER FOR OUR 100TH BIRTHDAY? To answer that question we reached back through the decades for inspiration. The 144 images that make up this week's cover were drawn from the more than 5,200 that TIME has published over the past century—zoomed in to offer a new perspective on the iconic images. There's at least one cover from each of the past 100 years, and every U.S. President since TIME's founding. (That's 18, to be exact, starting with Warren G. Harding on the second issue of TIME in 1923.) Richard Nixon, who holds the record for most TIME covers (55), appears four times on this commemorative cover. You will also find world leaders and sports icons; activists and astronauts; musicians, artists, authors, and actors; great thinkers, scientists, and innovative entrepreneurs. There's a famous Thoroughbred, a green-eyed cat, and a Big Bird. The cover includes work from Andy Warhol and Roy Lichtenstein, Marc Chagall and Jacob Lawrence, James Nachtwey and Jodi Bieber, Marisol Escobar and JR. And though what you see here is less than 3% of all the TIME covers published, it suggests the sweep, influence, and history the magazine captured across its first hundred years. —D.W. PINE, CREATIVE DIRECTOR

Looking back

1. Sept. 11 After "debris started raining down on us," photographer Lyle Owerko, a resident of downtown Manhattan who happened to witness the 9/11 attacks, started walking up Broadway with the film he'd shot that morning, toward a nearby lab to process his images. He later recalled the owner telling him, "You have the cover of TIME magazine." Owerko's image was framed by a black border—the first time the magazine's iconic red border had been changed since 1927.

2. Black America 1970 When TIME published a cover titled "Black America 1970," the cover featured a portrait of civil rights activist Jesse Jackson, by Jacob Lawrence, the first Black artist to gain representation at a major New York City gallery. "I remember [when I found out] Jacob Lawrence was going to do the cover of TIME, I was just overwhelmed by the idea," Jackson later said, noting that the portrait captured the pain and passion he felt amid the trauma of that time.

Looking for a specific cover?

Order your favorites at **timecoverstore.com**

3. Her Lasting Impact For our 2018 cover story on Christine Blasey Ford's testimony during Brett Kavanaugh's Supreme Court confirmation hearings, San Francisco–based artist John Mavroudis used her powerful words to create a memorable portrait. Mavroudis had one day to re-create her likeness by drawing each letter by hand. "This particular process is like putting a jigsaw puzzle together, but with an infinite number of possibilities," he said.

4. Steve Jobs It was late on a Wednesday evening in 2011 when news came that Apple founder Steve Jobs had died. An hour earlier, we had just sent an issue to the printing press, and staffers were already heading home. With a small team and in six hours, we created an issue with 21 pages on Jobs' life and impact. The cover photo was a portrait taken by Norman Seeff in 1984. As Seeff has recalled, in that moment Jobs "rushed off, and came back in and plopped down ... with a Macintosh in his lap. I got the shot the first time."

5. Vote For the first time in 97 years, our logo didn't say "TIME." To underscore the importance of voting in the upcoming election, TIME was changed to VOTE for all U.S. editions of the Nov. 2, 2020, issue. "Even though the subject in the portrait knows there are additional challenges to democracy during a pandemic," said artist Shepard Fairey of the image he created for the cover, the person is determined to use their "voice and power by voting."

6. The Beatles Artist Gerald Scarfe, famous for his caricatures in the British press, was hired by TIME to create a papier-mâché sculpture of the Beatles for a cover story on the band in 1967. Scarfe sketched Ringo Starr at the drummer's suburban London home, then "raced back to his Thames-side studio to construct a likeness," the issue told readers. "He followed the same process for all four."

Behind the scenes

TIME's Women of the Year project highlights 12 individuals who are making an impact promoting equity worldwide. Above, Josefina Santos *(right)* photographs one of the honorees, Ayisha Siddiqa, a Pakistani environmentalist who is training the next generation of climate-change activists. Learn more about the 2023 honorees at **time.com/women-of-the-year**

TIME
WOMEN OF THE YEAR
Cate Blanchett

Photograph by
Yana Yatsuk for TIME

TIME
WOMEN OF THE YEAR
Ayisha Siddiqa

Photograph by
Josefina Santos for TIME

Want a different cover? U.S. subscribers who received the Cate Blanchett cover but prefer the 100 Years cover, or vice versa, call 800-843-8463 to have it sent with our compliments.

SUBSCRIBE
Health Matters

Subscribe to TIME's health newsletter to **stay up-to-date on the latest health news** and get expert advice on living well. For more, visit **time.com/health-newsletter**

See all the newsletters
Find all TIME's email lists at **time.com/newsletters**

TALK TO US

SEND AN EMAIL:
letters@time.com
Please do not send attachments

FOLLOW US:
facebook.com/time
@time (Twitter and Instagram)

Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone, and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space

Back Issues Contact us at customerservice@time.com, or call 800-843-8463. **Reprints and Permissions** Information is available at time.com/reprints. To request custom reprints, visit timereprints.com. **Advertising** For advertising rates and our editorial calendar, visit timemediakit.com. **Syndication** For international licensing and syndication requests, contact syndication@time.com

Please recycle this magazine, and remove inserts or samples beforehand

Envision
RACING
FORMULA E TEAM

#TreeswithAidan

RACE AGAINST
CLIMATE CHANGE

INSPIRING
CLIMATE ACTION

Our ecosystems are under threat. Join Aidan and Envision Racing in the Race Against Climate Change. For every free climate pledge taken, a free mangrove tree will be planted.

We've planted over 132,000 trees and we're just getting started!

Aidan Gallagher
actor, singer-musician, environmental activist and
UN Environment Programme Goodwill Ambassador

Photograph by Cory Ingram

Pledge for your planet today at:
envision-racing.com/pledge
Use code: Aidan-NY

Algorand FOUNDATION
TEIJIN
EVM
paloalto
TIME
C.P. COMPANY
OMP

The Brief

CLEANERS
TAILORS & SHIRT LAUNDERERS .1959
CHRIS FRENCH CLEANERS
CHRIS FRENCH cleaners
www.chriscleaners.com
75-5444
ONE WAY
TOASTED DELI Bagel

TWO-WAY MAIN STREET

BY ALANA SEMUELS

The U.S. economy is strong. But with high interest rates, it's not all good news if you aren't rich

INSIDE

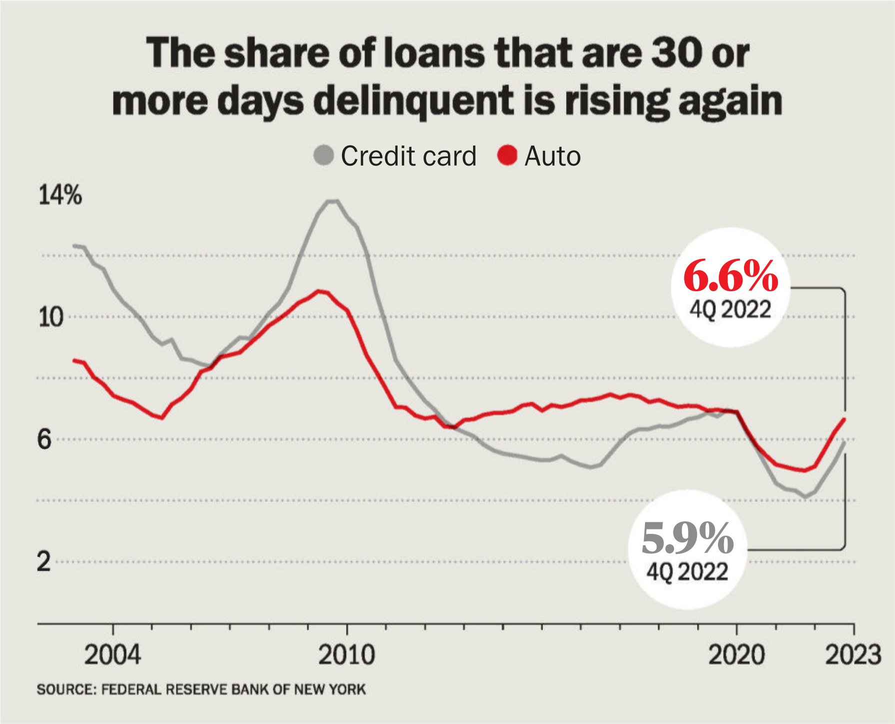
THE CONTROVERSY OVER REWRITING ROALD DAHL	INSIDE AN AP AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDIES CLASSROOM	YES, SINGLE PEOPLE CAN BE HAPPY AND HEALTHY

PHOTOGRAPH BY RICHARD B. LEVINE

THE NUMBERS KEEP ROLLING IN TO CONFIRM: Things look very good in the U.S. economy. Employers added half a million jobs in January, more than twice as many as economists had predicted. Spending by U.S. households rose 1.8% over December, and retail sales jumped at a higher rate than they had for nearly two years.

You'd think it would be time to kick back, sip a martini, and celebrate. But it's not. The continued strength of the U.S. economy means the Federal Reserve's efforts to slow inflation by increasing interest rates are not working as quickly as they'd hoped. Inflation rose 5.4% in January from a year ago, according to data from the Fed's preferred index released Feb. 24.

The Fed wants inflation to be around 2% and will keep increasing interest rates until it gets near that target. (Whether it should give up on that target is a question the Fed doesn't seem interested in pursuing at the moment.)



The share of loans that are 30 or more days delinquent is rising again

SOURCE: FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF NEW YORK

"The consumer is the stallion running wild, and the Fed is the cowboy—and the Fed will win at the end of the day," says Mark Zandi, chief economist at Moody's Analytics.

Already, the Fed has raised interest rates from near zero in April 2020 to a 15-year high of above 4.5%, the most aggressive policy since the 1980s. Officials don't expect to reduce interest rates until at least 2024.

If you're not someone who needs to borrow a lot of money in the foreseeable future to buy a house or make another big purchase, you might not think the Fed's moves are relevant to you. But they are. Higher interest rates also increase the cost of having a balance on a credit card. They make it more expensive for businesses to borrow money, and when companies have higher expenses, they're going to look to either raise prices or cut spending. That often means laying off workers, one reason we've seen tens of thousands of tech layoffs in recent months.

WHAT HAPPENS NEXT as the Fed works to slow inflation could be especially painful for those at the bottom half of U.S. income distribution. Consumer spending is what's driving the hot economy right now, but it's mostly consumers in the top half of that income distribution who are doing the spending, Zandi points out.

Recent data suggests that the U.S. economy isn't going into a recession anytime soon. These higher-income households saved so much money during the pandemic that they seem relatively unfazed by inflation, continuing to shop, eat at restaurants, and travel, despite rising prices. But low- and middle-income households have run through the savings they accumulated during the pandemic, Zandi says, and are reeling from high prices. They are also finding that it's getting more expensive to push back a credit-card payment a month or two.

"For families at the lower end of the income spectrum, shifting the burden of debt on a monthly basis can rapidly become unbearable," says Gregory Daco, chief economist at EY Parthenon. He predicts a K-shaped consumer-spending pattern this year, with higher-income households continuing to spend while lower-income households slow their economic activity.

There are already signs that this is happening. Darden Restaurants said in an earnings call that households making less than $50,000 were eating less frequently at its Olive Garden and Cheddar's restaurants, but it was still seeing strength with guests in higher-income households. Walmart posted better-than-expected earnings on Feb. 21, and the company said that growth was driven by higher-income customers.

Meanwhile, credit-card debt is at a record high. The share of loans that are 30 days or more delinquent is rising after two years of relatively low rates.

As lower-income consumers' stimulus savings run out, programs created in 2020 like extra money for food stamps are expiring, which will increase the struggles of low-income families. Already, because of inflation, the typical American family has to spend $400 more per month than a year ago to buy the same goods and services.

Daco estimates that the top 40% of households account for about 60% of consumer spending—and that their share of spending has increased during the past few years as they've accumulated money while largely staying home. These wealthier households can continue to keep spending and prop up the economy for a while, he says.

But that can't last. Eventually, the economy is going to feel the loss of lower-income households and their spending power. Their absence puts pressure on higher-income households to spend more—and they may start to balk as they see prices keep rising and interest rates remain high.

There are still plenty of reasons to be optimistic, Daco says. But there are also reasons to worry. "Household finances are healthy," says Daco, "but we are starting to see cracks in the foundation."

The Brief is reported by Sanya Mansoor, Olivia B. Waxman, and Julia Zorthian

PREVIOUS PAGE: SIPA USA/REUTERS

NO ARTIFICIAL PRESERVATIVES
WILD SALMON PRIMAVERA WITH TOMATOES, CARROTS & SPINACH
IN A SILKY BROTH
♥ No Artificial Colors
Fancy Feast Medleys
WHITE MEAT CHICKEN FLORENTINE WITH SPINACH
IN A LIGHT BROTH
PURINA Fancy Feast Medleys

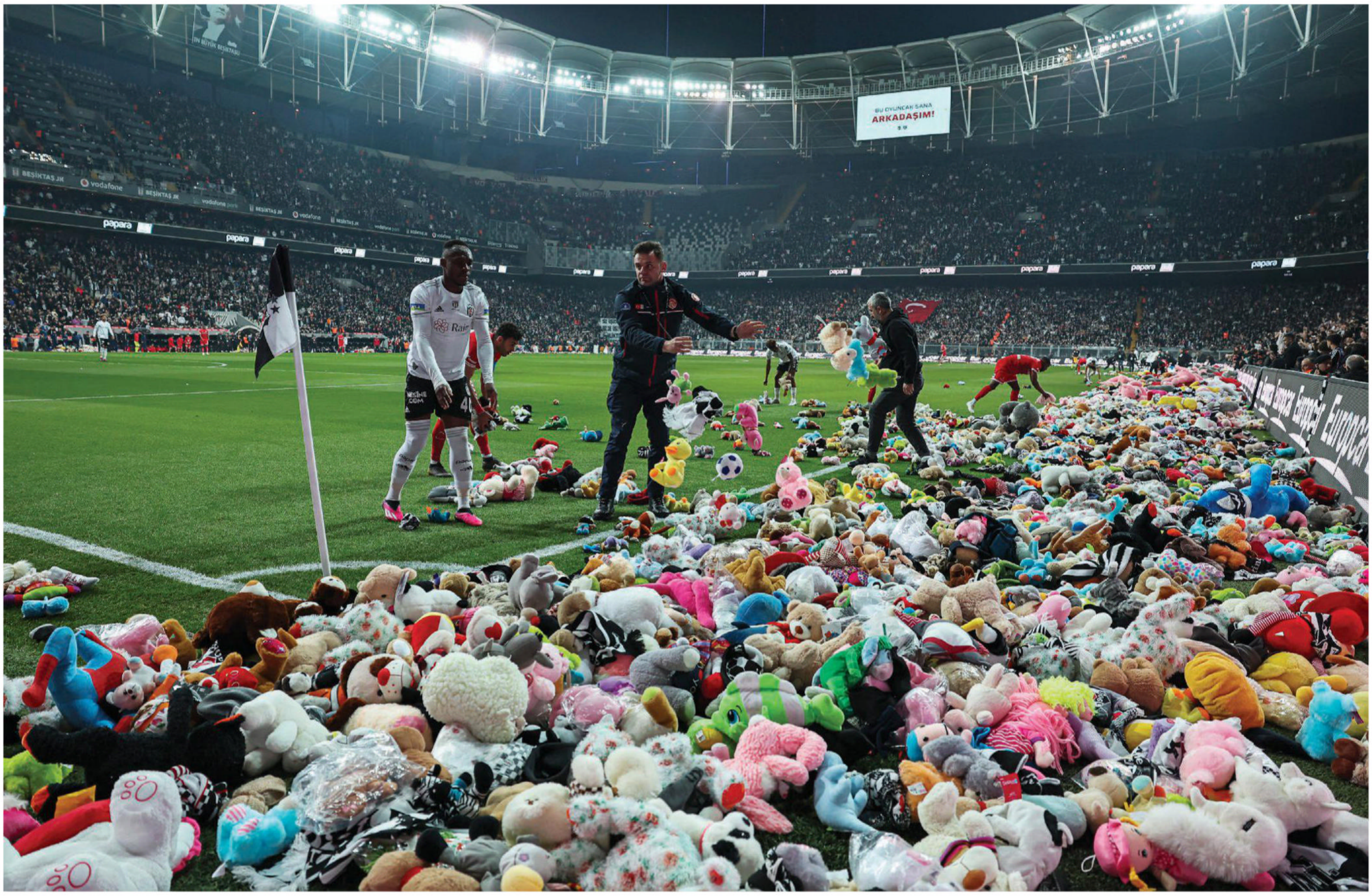
GIVE YOUR CAT THE WORLD

Globally-inspired dishes crafted with high-quality ingredients and the proteins your cat loves.

LOVE IS IN THE DETAILS®

PURINA Your Pet, Our Passion®

Trademarks owned by Société des Produits Nestlé S.A., Vevey, Switzerland.



Emotional support

Turkish soccer fans threw thousands of stuffed toys onto the pitch of an Istanbul stadium on Feb. 27 for children affected by two devastating earthquakes in the region. Because the first quake struck at 4:17 a.m. on Feb. 6, the Besiktas and Antalyaspor teams paused their game after 4 min. 17 sec. of play for supporters to toss in their contributions.

THE BULLETIN

Fresh debate on the origins of COVID-19

THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY now believes that COVID-19 most likely resulted from an accidental leak from a Chinese lab, according to news reports. It made the conclusion with a low level of confidence, the *Wall Street Journal* reported Feb. 26, citing anonymous sources. Not every U.S. intel agency agrees with the Energy Department.

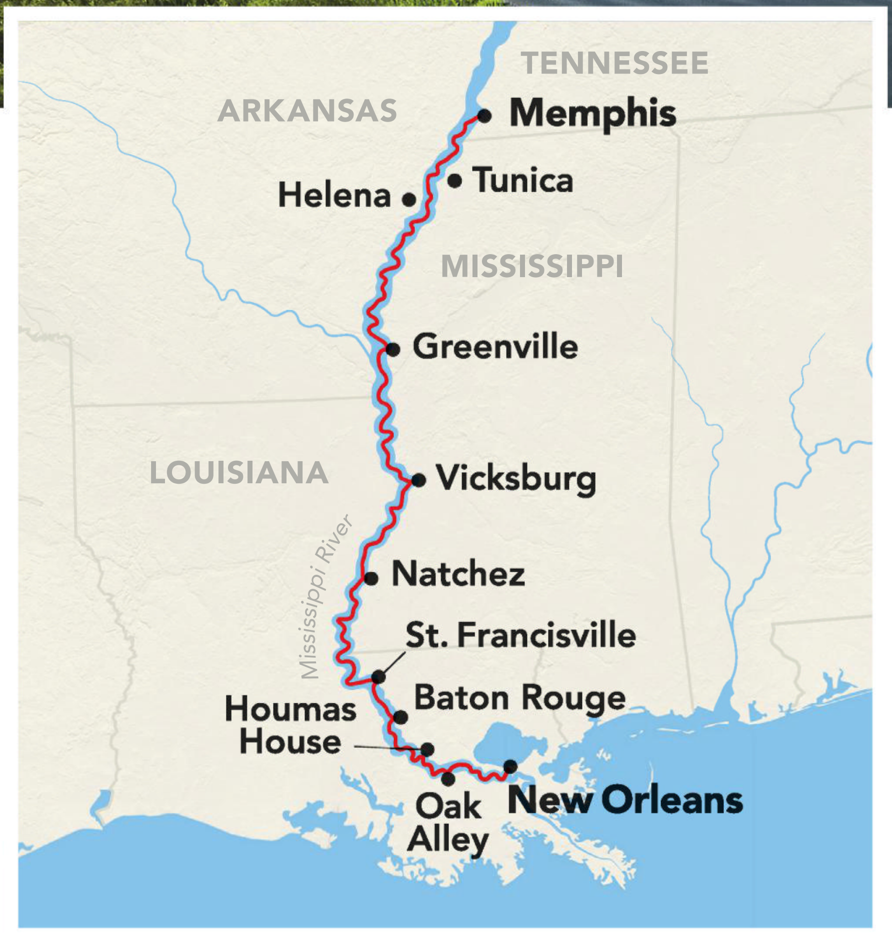
SPLIT DECISION "There is not a consensus right now in the U.S. government about exactly how COVID started," National Security Council spokesman John Kirby said Feb. 27. A 2021 report from the Office of the Director of National Intelligence revealed that of the nine groups that investigated COVID-19's origins, five decided that transmission from animal to human was the most likely cause. On Feb. 28, FBI Director Christopher Wray told Fox News that the FBI has "for some time" believed a lab leak was the most likely explanation. Two agencies, reportedly including the CIA, remain undecided.

IN SECRET The details of these investigations, including methods, sources, and even the names of all of the agencies involved, remain largely hidden from the public. The Energy Department and CIA have not commented. Andrew Weber, a former Assistant Secretary of Defense, says the Energy Department, which operates several national laboratories, was likely able to employ sophisticated scientific methods in order to make its conclusion about COVID-19.

LIFTING THE LID Congress is pushing for more transparency. James Comer, chair of the House Oversight Committee, wants the Energy Department to declassify its assessment. Wray said China "has been doing its best to try to thwart and obfuscate" COVID-19 origin investigations. But it's vital to push for answers, Weber says. "The fact that the intelligence community of the United States of America believes that both scenarios are plausible," he says, "is enough to lead us to change some of our policies." —MINI RACKER

AP

AMERICAN CRUISE LINES®


TENNESSEE
ARKANSAS
Memphis
Helena
Tunica
MISSISSIPPI
Greenville
LOUISIANA
Vicksburg
Mississippi River
Natchez
St. Francisville
Houmas House
Baton Rouge
Oak Alley
New Orleans

Explore the Lower Mississippi River

with the Leader in U.S. Cruising

Delight your senses on this amazing journey along the Lower Mississippi River. From the French Quarter to Beale Street, be treated to the finest local flavors, including barbeque, bourbon, and the blues. Enjoy the simple pleasures and unique treasures found in the small towns along the way as you cruise in pure comfort aboard our fleet of new American riverboats.

Your Lower Mississippi River Cruise Includes:

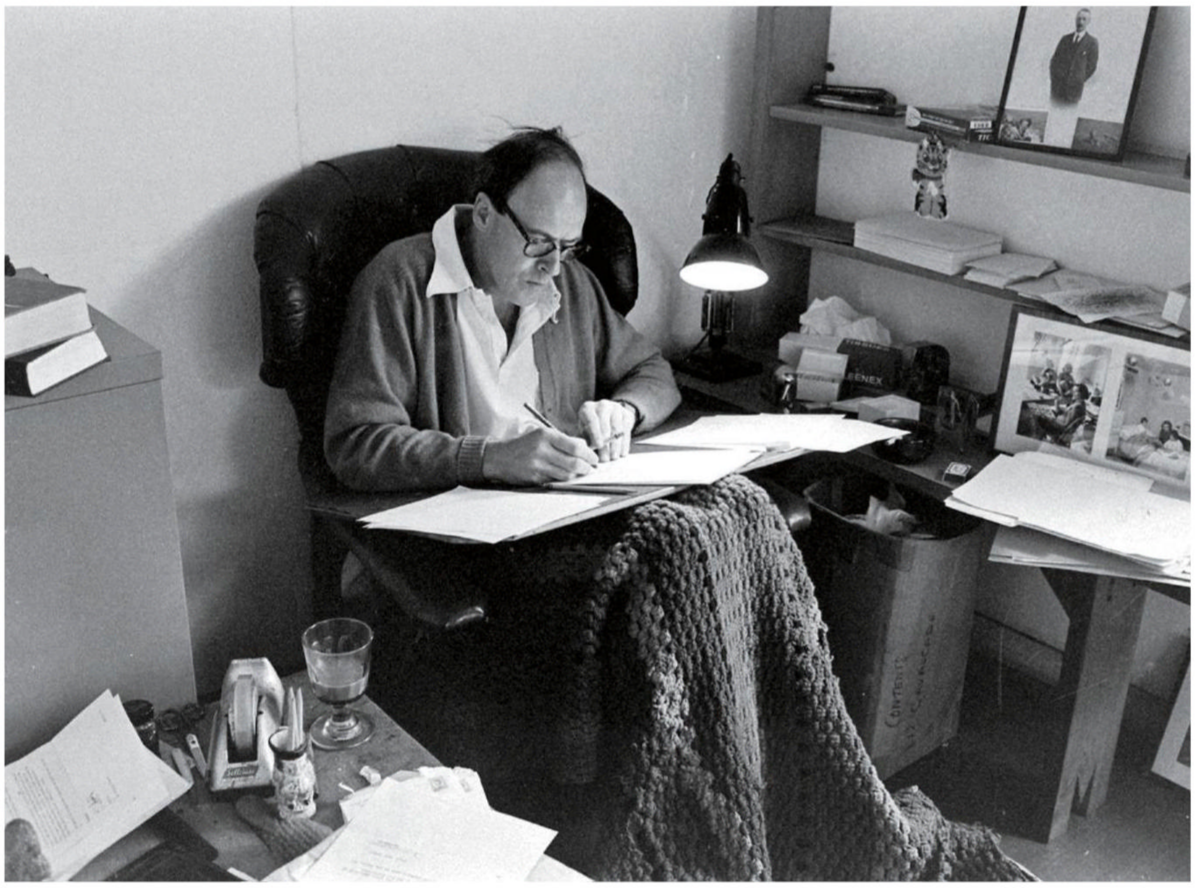
- 8-Days/7-Nights aboard the ship
- An exploration of 6 ports of call with guided excursion options at each
- All onboard meals, breakfast room service, and our signature evening cocktail hour
- Full enrichment package with guest speakers and nightly entertainment
- All tips and gratitudes

Call today

800-913-2493

to request a
free Cruise Guide

Small Ship Cruising Done Perfectly®



Dahl working at his home in the U.K. in 1965

GOOD QUESTION

Why are publishers rewriting classics?

BY ARMANI SYED

ONLY DAYS AFTER A BRITISH PUBLISHER CAME UNDER fire for edits made to Roald Dahl's children's books, the *Telegraph* revealed Feb. 25 that James Bond was getting the same treatment. Just as Dahl's books would be adjusted to remove language that today's readers deem offensive, the estate of Bond author Ian Fleming has conducted a sensitivity review before an upcoming reissue of the spy novels.

It's hard for anyone to argue in favor of the language in question—in Dahl's case, offensive terms relating to race, gender, weight, and mental health have been rewritten; in Fleming's, language describing Black people has particularly come under the microscope, though Bond's notorious attitude toward women will reportedly remain. The reaction to the news is a case study in both why such a decision would draw scrutiny, and why publishers and authors' estates may see it as in their best interest regardless.

Dahl, whose works have sold more than 300 million copies worldwide, is an illustrative example. In the years since his death in 1990, some have turned their focus to a number of racist and sexist tropes in his works. (Before his death too: in the first edition of *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory,* Oompa-Loompas were pygmies from "the deepest and darkest part of the African jungle"; that changed after pressure from Dahl's publisher.) Puffin Books, a children's imprint of Penguin Books, worked with the Roald Dahl Story Company (RDSC), which is now owned by Netflix, to review the texts before issuing new editions. RDSC says it hopes the resulting rewrites ensure that "Dahl's wonderful stories and characters continue to be enjoyed by all children today."

> **'Roald Dahl was no angel but this is absurd censorship.'**
>
> **—SALMAN RUSHDIE,** AUTHOR

The review was conducted with Inclusive Minds, an organization that works with the children's-book world to support diversity and inclusion. The group told TIME they "do not write, edit, or rewrite texts, but provide book creators with valuable insight from people with the relevant lived experience that they can take into consideration."

Hundreds of changes have reportedly been made to Dahl's body of work. These edits include a line in *James and the Giant Peach,* recast from "I'd rather be fried alive and eaten by a Mexican!" to "I'd rather be fried alive and eaten." In *Matilda,* a mention of going to India with English novelist Rudyard Kipling—who has been variously labeled a colonialist, a racist, and a misogynist in recent years—has been cut and a reference to Jane Austen has been added.

SOME CRITICS, like Suzanne Nossel, CEO of PEN America, have argued that Dahl's work should stand as is, with new introductions to prepare readers with context. In a Twitter thread, she wrote that the "problem" with rewrites "is that there is no limiting principle." And Booker Prize–winning author Salman Rushdie tweeted: "Roald Dahl was no angel but this is absurd censorship." Amid the backlash, Penguin Random House announced on Feb. 24 it would continue to publish "classic" versions of Dahl's books alongside the revised versions.

Yet Karen Sands-O'Connor, a professor of children's literature at Newcastle University, says there is a precedent for rewriting texts—including the Oompa-Loompas—and a reason publishers go to the trouble. She says they have three choices: stop publishing the work and lose money, continue publishing the original texts amid controversy, or tailor the texts to today's audience. Sands-O'Connor says the third is the "least problematic option"—but an even better approach is discovering new and exciting authors. "The books are out there," she says, "people just need to look for them." ☐

LEONARD MCCOMBE—THE LIFE PICTURE COLLECTION/SHUTTERSTOCK

NEW!
VICKS
NEW active ingredient.
NEW directions.
Read label.
ZzzQuil™
ULTRA
NIGHTTIME SLEEP-AID
Doxylamine succinate, 25 mg nighttime sleep aid
12 TABLETS
From the makers of NyQuil
Clinically tested, proven effective
actual size
1 TABLET PER DOSE

POWERED BY THE MAKERS OF NyQuil™

WHEN YOU REALLY REALLY NEED TO SLEEP.

STAY ASLEEP LONGER*

*VS. CONTROL - CLINICAL DATA ON FILE WITH FDA IN SUPPORT OF NDA, READ EACH LABEL. USE AS DIRECTED. KEEP OUT OF REACH OF CHILDREN

Statehood For Hawaiian Islands Blow To The South
NEW YORK AGE
1,000 Protest 'Police Brutality'
ARKANSAS BURIES HER 21 VICTIMS OF FLAMES
Courier
Amsterdam News
Moslems Go Free
NAACP Member Card A 'Credit' In Teacher Tests
Herald News

ANNOUNCED

Malcolm X lawsuit

NYPD, FBI, CIA face accusations

CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER MALCOLM X'S FAMily marked the anniversary of his 1965 assassination on Feb. 22 by announcing plans to sue the FBI, New York police department, and CIA for $100 million, claiming they concealed evidence related to his murder.

For more than half a century, the circumstances surrounding the assassination have been shrouded in mystery, fueling conspiracy theories about possible government involvement. Two men who were convicted of murdering Malcolm X in 1966 were exonerated in 2021 after serving decades in prison—and the New York district attorney admitted that it had not had access to the FBI and NYPD's exculpatory evidence. The city and state of New York in 2022 paid $36 million for their wrongful conviction. A third man, who admitted to the killing, was paroled in 2010.

"For years, our family has fought for the truth to come to light concerning his murder," Ilyasah Shabazz, a daughter of Malcolm X, said at the site of the Audubon Ballroom, now a memorial, in New York City's Washington Heights neighborhood where the 39-year-old was shot 21 times. Undercover NYPD detectives and FBI informants were at the scene, neither of which was disclosed. Court filings allege that government agencies "conspired with each other and with other individuals and acted, and failed to act, in such a way as to bring about the wrongful death of Malcolm X."

Civil rights lawyer Ben Crump, who is representing the family, repeatedly referenced J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI director who died in 1972. "It's not just about the triggermen. It's about those who conspired with the triggermen to do this dastardly deed," he said. —NIK POPLI

SUSPENDED

New START

Nuclear treaty

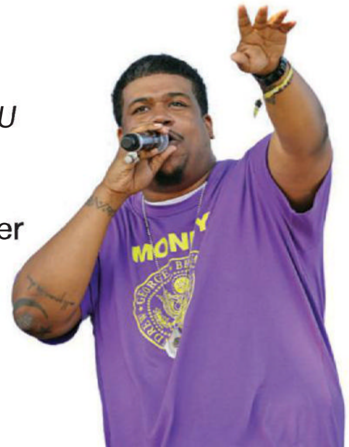
Russian President Vladimir Putin suspended his nation's participation in the last remaining nuclear-arms-control agreement with the U.S. on Feb. 21, condemning the West in a bitter speech that sharpened tensions over the Ukraine war as it enters its second year.

New START limits each side to 1,550 deployed nuclear warheads. The 2010 agreement is a legacy of arms-control infrastructure hammered out during the Cold War, when the U.S. and Soviet Union identified weapons deemed mutually menacing and worked to eliminate the threat. While the implications of Putin's move remain unclear, the U.S. believes his decision imperils the bilateral communication, data exchanges, and site visits that provide insights into the two nations' strategic nuclear forces. —*W.J. Hennigan*

DIED

▶ **Richard Belzer,** who played *Law and Order SVU* detective John Munch, at 78 on Feb. 19.

▶ **David Jolicoeur,** member of music trio De La Soul, at 54 on Feb. 12.



CAPPED

The **out-of-pocket cost of insulin** products at $35 per month by drugmaker Eli Lilly, the company announced March 1, a major price cut to the medication.

SEEN

Six galaxies dating back as far as 500 million years by the **James Webb Space Telescope,** according to a paper published Feb. 22 in the journal *Nature.*

DROPPED

Comic strip *Dilbert* by newspapers, its distributor, and its book publisher in a cascade beginning Feb. 25 after creator Scott Adams' racist remarks about Black people.

MALCOLM X: THREE LIONS/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES; PUTIN: DMITRY ASTAKHOV—SPUTNIK/AFP/GETTY IMAGES; JOLICOEUR: JOHN SHEARER—WIREIMAGE/GETTY IMAGES

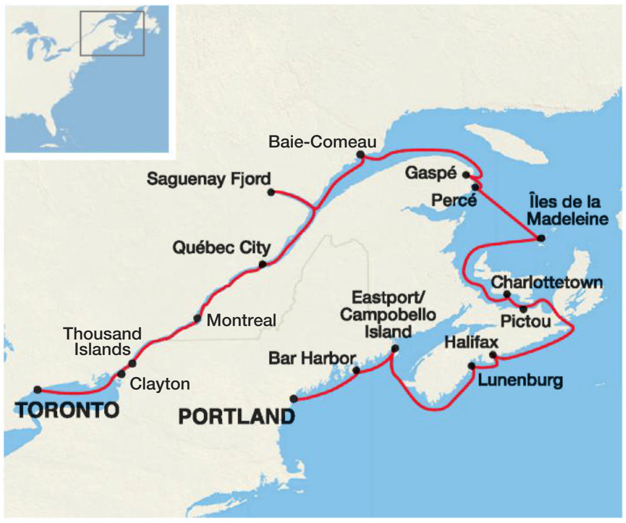
Pearl Seas Cruises®

Cruise the Canadian Maritimes &

ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

On this amazing 15-night cruise, explore picturesque waterfront towns and admire the stunning natural landscapes that stretch out before you. In the comfort of your private balcony, bask in the beauty of the Thousand Islands region, adorned with stately mansions, fairytale castles, and historic lighthouses.

Explore Well™


Baie-Comeau
Saguenay Fjord
Gaspé
Percé
Îles de la Madeleine
Québec City
Charlottetown
Eastport/ Campobello Island
Montreal
Pictou
Thousand Islands
Halifax
Bar Harbor
Lunenburg
Clayton
TORONTO
PORTLAND

Call for a
FREE Cruise Guide

888-594-9673

PearlSeasCruises.com

NATION

On the front lines of the culture war over Black history

BY OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

WHEN IT CAME TIME FOR EMMITT GLYNN TO TEACH the lesson on the Black Panthers in his AP African American Studies class, he says he was overcome with "fear" walking into his classroom at Baton Rouge Magnet High School on Feb. 17—fear that what happened in the room would be misconstrued by the outside world. The school has been fielding so many media requests about Glynn's class that administrators set up a day for the press to come see the curriculum in action.

The Louisiana school is one of 60 nationwide pilot-testing the College Board's newest Advanced Placement course, designed to offer college-level instruction to high school students. The element in the AP African American Studies lesson on civil rights history that had Glynn worried was the Black Panthers' 10-Point Program. Required reading for the course, the 1966 document demanded equal opportunities for housing, the end of police brutality, and the release of Black people from jails because they didn't get fair and impartial trials.

Emmitt Glynn teaches AP African American Studies on Feb. 17

TRAVIS SPRADLING—THE ADVOCATE/CAPITAL CITY PRESS/GEORGES MEDIA GROUP

The media crowded into Glynn's classroom about a month after the Florida department of education rejected the AP African American Studies class, turning it into a lightning rod in the debate over how Black history is taught in public schools—including how much of the history of racism students should learn. Shortly after, it was revealed that the agency had asked the College Board last fall, "Does the course promote Black Panther thinking?" The Black Panthers have been long been stereotyped as violent and communist. Florida Governor Ron DeSantis, who is thought to be eyeing a possible 2024 presidential run, has put culture-war issues at the center of his administration. He called the class "indoctrination."

"I've never experienced something like that in my teaching in 29 years," Glynn says, "having to feel I had to take careful steps with a subject because it might make people upset." On the day local journalists were invited into the class, reporters saw Glynn teach about Martin Luther King Jr.'s "Letter From Birmingham Jail." The subsequent coverage resulted in no local scandal in Louisiana's capital city and no national controversy. Glynn's press conference is perhaps an extreme example of how AP African American Studies teachers say they're working hard to prevent the controversy over the class from disrupting their students' education. Teachers from Texas to New England tell TIME that they can't ignore the controversy around the class—and how Black history is taught more broadly.

Many say, though, that DeSantis' objections have only made their students more engaged. Austin Sparks turned the controversy into a teachable moment for his class in the Cleveland area. He and his students discussed parallels between Florida's decision to ban the course and subjects they had already covered, like Jim Crow laws, which also restricted access to Black history. "Students were throwing up their hands left and right, making connections to what we've learned so far," Sparks says.

TWO SCHOOLS IN FLORIDA stopped AP African American Studies pilots midyear after DeSantis spoke out against the class in January. The course is more than a decade in the making, but launched in 2021 in large part as a response to the murder of George Floyd, so that high school students wouldn't have to wait until college to learn about police brutality and other issues affecting the Black community in historical context. In New Orleans, teacher Lamont Simmons says students voiced concern that their class could be canceled too. He says participation was highest during the lessons about African kingdoms. As he puts it, if Black high school students don't learn about the Black history that came before slavery, "your perception of yourself is limited."

Despite his nerves, Glynn is going to keep the door open to his AP African American Studies class. He's invited parents to come and observe anytime, and a local pastor approached him about designing a similar course for his churchgoers. "I'm not gonna be intimidated," he says.

'I'm not gonna be intimidated.'

—EMMITT GLYNN, TEACHER

SCIENCE-BASED NUTRITION AND NUTRIENTS TO SUPPORT IMMUNE HEALTH

30g
PROTEIN

1g
SUGAR

25
VITAMINS & MINERALS

Abbott
#1 Doctor Recommended Brand
Ensure®
MAX PROTEIN
nutrition shake
1g Sugar
MILK CHOCOLATE
30g Protein
150 Calories
25 Vitamins & Minerals
1.5g Total Fat
PROTEIN • VITAMIN A
WITH NUTRIENTS FOR IMMUNE SYSTEM SUPPORT
ANTIOXIDANTS*
ZINC • VITAMIN D
IMMUNE SYSTEM SUPPORT§

PROTEIN • VITAMIN A • VITAMIN D • ZINC • ANTIOXIDANTS*

WITH NUTRIENTS FOR **IMMUNE SYSTEM** SUPPORT

WITH NUTRIENTS TO HELP

SUPPORT IMMUNE FUNCTION

SUPPLY FUEL FOR IMMUNE CELLS

SUSTAIN TISSUE HEALTH

HOW NUTRIENTS SUPPORT IMMUNE SYSTEM HEALTH

1 Zinc helps **SUPPORT IMMUNE FUNCTION** through synthesis of new immune cells and antioxidants* help protect cells from oxidative damage.

2 Protein helps **SUPPLY FUEL AND BUILDING BLOCKS FOR IMMUNE CELLS**.

3 Vitamins A, C, and D help **SUSTAIN HEALTHY SKIN AND TISSUE** in the mouth, stomach, intestines, and respiratory system.

Abbott
Ensure
MAX PROTEIN
nutrition shake
1g Sugar
MILK CHOCOLATE
30g Protein
150 Calories
25 Vitamins & Minerals
1.5g Total Fat
IMMUNE SYSTEM SUPPORT

AVAILABLE IN 7 DELICIOUS FLAVORS:
Milk Chocolate, French Vanilla, Creamy Strawberry, Creamy Peach, Cherry Cheesecake, Milk Chocolate with Caffeine,† and Café Mocha†

SAVE NOW

Visit Ensure® for recipes and
$3 INSTANT SAVINGS!
ensure.com/instantcoupon

Ensure® STRENGTH & ENERGY

Use as part of a healthy diet.

*Vitamins C & E and selenium.

† Milk Chocolate with Caffeine and Café Mocha flavors have 100mg of caffeine, as much as an 8-oz cup of coffee.

©2022 Abbott 202212046/August 2022 LITHO IN USA

Abbott
life. to the fullest.®

5 ways to find happiness on your own

BY ANGELA HAUPT

FORGET EVERYTHING YOU'VE heard about being single—starting with the assumption that it means ready to mingle. The marriage rate has been decreasing for decades, and more people than ever before are living solo: nearly 40% of adults in the U.S. are unpartnered, up from 29% in 1990, according to the Pew Research Center. About half aren't interested in dating or a relationship.

Evidence suggests that people in romantic relationships tend to be happier and have greater life satisfaction than singles, but—as with all relationships—it's complicated. Research has found, for instance, that people in unhappy marriages have equal or worse health outcomes compared with those who were never married. Another important caveat: the singles who have the hardest time with their relationship status tend to be divorced people. Widowhood is also associated with worse mental health.

Researchers are only beginning to understand how singlehood affects health and happiness, and the solo life comes with surprising perks, says Bella DePaulo, a (happily single) social psychologist. "Once I realized that single was who I really was, and that was never going to change, it was wonderful," she says.

As the new science of singlehood crystallizes, here are some of the most intriguing lessons researchers have uncovered about how to pursue a fulfilling, meaningful, and psychologically rich solo life.

ILLUSTRATION BY SOL COTTI FOR TIME

1. Identify the upsides

Long-term singles tend to have certain values in common, like cherishing "**freedom, independence, and even creativity and nonconformity** more than others," says Elyakim Kislev, a researcher at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and author of books including *Happy Singlehood.* In one study, hundreds of unpartnered men and women rated having more time for themselves, being able to focus on their goals, and not having anyone else dictate their actions as the top perks of a solo life.

2. Don't rush to couple up

People who focus on what they don't have "often find themselves miserable," Kislev says. His research indicates that the more someone wants a relationship, the less satisfied they'll be with their single life. It's key to **find ways to enjoy your current relationship status.** Even if you eventually want to couple up, take stock of the benefits of singleness. Engaging in hobbies and self-care activities can boost self-esteem and overall life satisfaction, he says. So can a sense of purpose, achieved perhaps by volunteering or pursuing a passion.

3. Tend to your friends

Those in relationships often turn inward to their partners and families. As a result, "coupled people, especially men, may lose their friends over time and find themselves lonely later in life," Kislev says. Singles, on the other hand, typically have stronger social ties, a key to happiness. Research suggests **those without a partner usually have more friends** and are more likely to support and visit their parents and siblings.

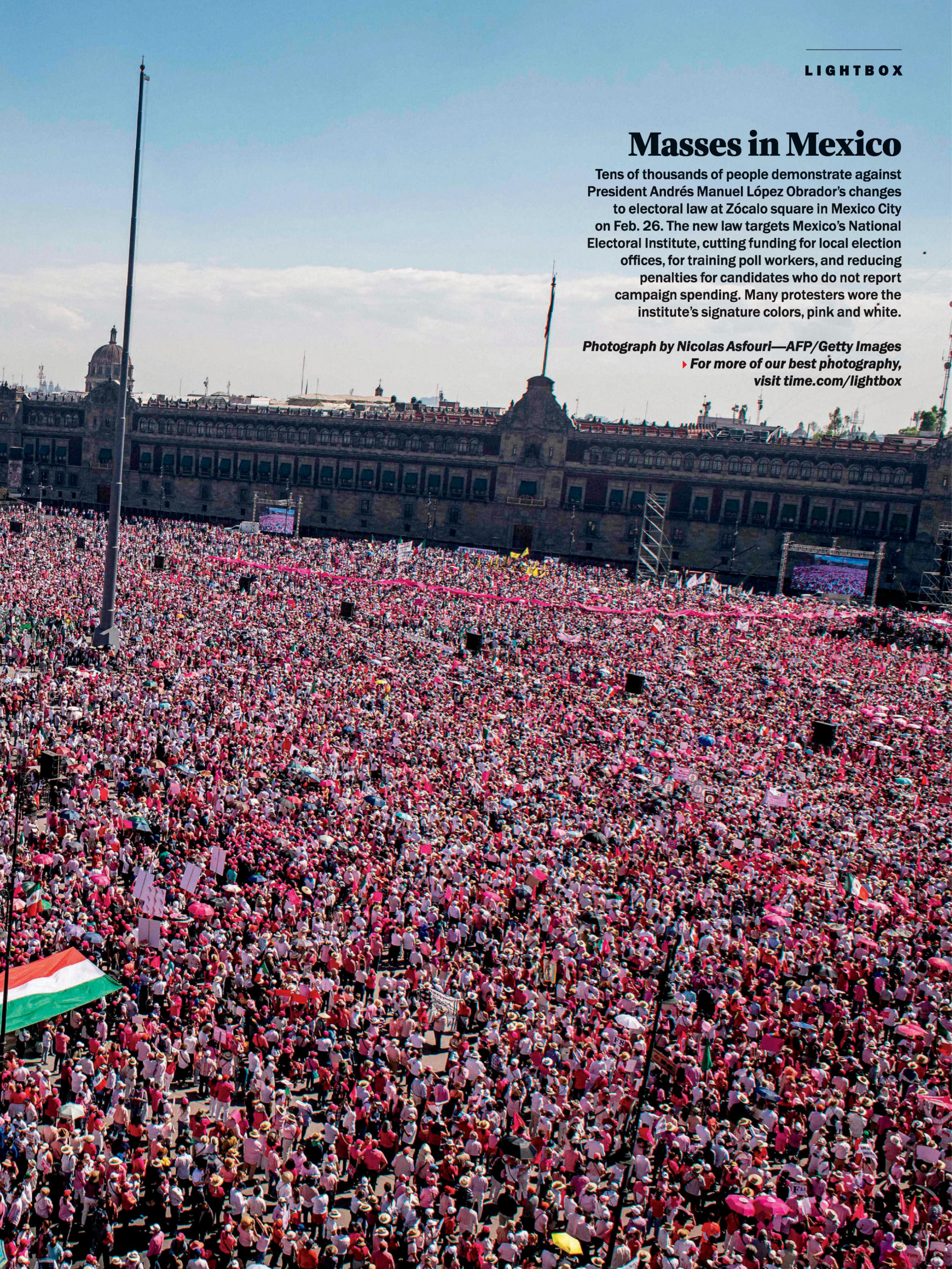
4. Embrace a healthy sex life

People in relationships tend to have more sex than singles, says Geoff MacDonald, a psychology professor at the University of Toronto. But his research finds that the extent to which single people are happy with their sex lives predicts their satisfaction with their relationship status. **Those with higher sexual satisfaction tend to report less desire to marry** and hold stronger beliefs that singletons can be happy.

5. Ignore any stigma

Many people continue to see singlehood as a transitory stage on the way to a romantic relationship—and as "a second-best option or a failure to find a partner," Kislev says. If you're single but worried about what others think, "**live your single life fully, joyfully, and unapologetically,**" says DePaulo. "People who try to stigmatize you are the ones who should be embarrassed—not you."

YONEX
far beyond ordinary
THE ART OF SPIN
VCORE
THE ART OF SPIN



Masses in Mexico

Tens of thousands of people demonstrate against President Andrés Manuel López Obrador's changes to electoral law at Zócalo square in Mexico City on Feb. 26. The new law targets Mexico's National Electoral Institute, cutting funding for local election offices, for training poll workers, and reducing penalties for candidates who do not report campaign spending. Many protesters wore the institute's signature colors, pink and white.

Photograph by Nicolas Asfouri—AFP/Getty Images

For more of our best photography, visit time.com/lightbox

"I can't begin to describe this gorgeous ring...it is absolutely stunning. The workmanship and style is out of this world. Please order this ring, you won't be disappointed."
— J., Stuart, FL

Receive these scintillating Ultimate Diamond Alternative™, Diamond*Aura*® Classique sterling silver stud earrings **FREE!**

Read details below.

The Fifth C?

Cut, Color, Carat, Clarity…Chemistry?

Is it possible that the mind of a scientist can create more beauty and romance than Mother Nature? The Ultimate Diamond Alternative™, Diamond*Aura*®, was created with one mission in mind: Create brilliant cut jewelry that allows everyone to experience more clarity, more scintillation and larger carat weights than they have ever experienced. So, we've taken 2 ½ carats of our Diamond*Aura*® and set them in the most classic setting—the result is our most stunning, fiery, faceted design yet! In purely scientific measurement terms, the refractory index of these stones is very high, and the color dispersion is ***actually superior*** to mined diamonds.

Perfection from science. We named our brilliant cut diamond alternative stones Diamond*Aura* because "they dazzle just like natural diamonds but without the outrageous cost." We will not bore you with the incredible details of the scientific process, but will only say that it involves the use of rare minerals heated to an incredibly high temperature of nearly 5000˚F. This can only be accomplished inside some very modern and expensive laboratory equipment. After several additional steps, scientists finally created a clear marvel that looks even better than the vast majority of mined diamonds. According to the book *Jewelry and Gems–the Buying Guide*, the technique used in our diamond alternative Diamond*Aura*® offers, "The best diamond simulation to date, and even some jewelers have mistaken these stones for mined diamonds."

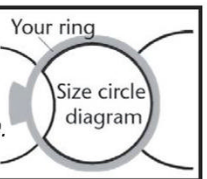
The 4 C's. Our 3-Stone Classique Ring retains every jeweler's specification: color, clarity, cut, and carat weight. The transparent color and clarity of our diamond alternative Diamond*Aura*® emulate the most perfect diamonds—D Flawless, and both are so hard they will cut glass. The brilliant cut maximizes the fire and radiance of the stone so that the light disperses into an exquisite rainbow of colors.

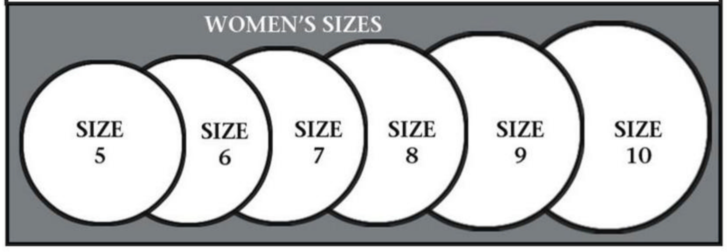
Rock solid guarantee. This .925 sterling silver ring is prong-set with a 1 ½ carat round brilliant stone in the center, showcased between two round brilliants stones of ½ carat each. Adding to your 4 C's, we will include our Ultimate Diamond Alternative™ Diamond*Aura*® stud earrings for **FREE!** Try the Diamond*Aura*® 3-Stone Classique Ring at **$39** for 30 days. If for any reason you are not satisfied with your purchase, simply return it to us for a full refund of the item purchase price and keep the stud earrings as our gift.

COMPARE THE BRILLIANCE, FIRE & PRICE

	Mined Flawless Diamond	**Diamond*Aura* Classique Ring**
Hardness	Cuts Glass	**Cuts Glass**
Cut (58 facets)	Brilliant	**Brilliant**
Color	"D" Colorless	**"D" Colorless**
Clarity	"IF"	**Clear**
Dispersion/Fire	0.044	**0.066**
2½ ctw ring	$60,000+	**$39**

Place one of your own rings on top of one of the circle diagrams. Your ring size is the circle that matches the inside diameter of your ring. If your ring falls between sizes, order the next larger size.





Not Available in Stores

3-Stone Classique Ring
(2 ½ ctw) ~~$299~~† **$39** + S&P Save $260
FREE stud earrings with purchase of Classique Ring—a $99 value!
Available in whole sizes 5-10

You must use the offer code to get our special price.

1-800-333-2045

Your Offer Code: DAR969-05

† Special price only for customers using the offer code versus the price on Stauer.com without your offer code.

Stauer®
14101 Southcross Drive W.,
Ste 155, Dept. DAR969-05,
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337
www.stauer.com

The View

WORLD

DEAR UKRAINIANS

BY SEBASTIAN JUNGER

You have been at war for a year now, and death must have touched virtually every family in your country. Your struggle reminds me of Sarajevo, where I first experienced war as a journalist in 1993. The Bosnian Serb army had besieged the beautiful Bosnian capital, and ordinary citizens—many just teenagers—learned to use the tools of war to defend their families and homes. ▶

INSIDE

CHINA'S PEACE PLAN TO END THE WAR IN UKRAINE

HOW RELIGIOUS AMERICANS FEEL ABOUT ABORTION RIGHTS

AN INCLUSIVE VISION OF THE AMERICAN DREAM

The situation was both noble and tragic, inspiring and sad. It made me want to be Sarajevan. It made me want a great cause in my life that would require me to put others before myself. You seem to make yourself immortal when you do that; you seem to make yourself impervious to pain and fear and doubt. The reality is much more complicated, of course. But over and over throughout history, ordinary people defending their homes and families have found themselves capable of feats they never could have imagined.

My father was a refugee from two wars. In 1936 he and his family fled Madrid when the fascists came in under General Francisco Franco, and then fled again when the Nazis invaded France. It looked as if fascism was going to take over the world, but some people knew better. All of Western Europe's authoritarian regimes have collapsed since World War II. Of the Eastern bloc countries, only Russia and Belarus have slid back into authoritarianism. Europe is an overwhelmingly democratic continent because there are people everywhere who were and are willing to risk their lives defying evil.

Resistance fighters in France and other occupied countries joined Allied soldiers in World War II to crush the Nazi regime and eradicate fascism in Central Europe. The Ukrainian resistance is a direct descendent of these heroic citizens.

Like Hitler, Putin will fail in his endeavor—not only will he fail, but it will eventually destroy him. As a result, other dictators around the world will take note of the fact that smaller countries often win wars against invaders, and that invading a supposedly weak neighbor will probably end in failure. History is filled with inspiring examples. The Ottoman Empire invaded Montenegro over and over in the 1600s, outnumbering the Montenegrins by as much as 12 to 1. Each time, these mountain people drove out their invaders—often inflicting high casualties. And after the failed Easter Rising of 1916, Irish rebels eventually overthrew English rule despite the fact that they were hopelessly outnumbered and outgunned.

UKRAINIANS
KILLED BY
PUTIN
4436
7436
10789

In Kyiv on Feb. 2, Ukrainian flags commemorate Ukrainian soldiers killed in the war with Russia

FREEDOM IS ONE of the few things that, throughout history, people have regularly been willing to die for. That can make invading a free society very costly. But a fight for freedom will not succeed without leaders who are willing to make the same sacrifices as everyone else. Without brave and selfless leaders, ordinary people will have little reason to believe that the society they are fighting for will be a fair one.

All free societies accord full rights and respect to women. A cause that sidelines women will probably fail for lack of popular support. Not only do women confer a kind of moral legitimacy to political causes, but women's social networks are often lateral rather than hierarchical—a huge asset for any underground movement.

Because of your success against Russian forces, China may hesitate to attack Taiwan, North Korea may think twice before declaring war on South Korea, and Russia may abandon claims to the Baltic countries. Western leaders clearly understand that the fight for Ukraine is a fight for peace and stability in all of Europe—if not the world. They have remained united in their commitment to providing advanced weapons and ammunition, as well as tactical training by some of the West's most elite special forces. President Biden clearly wants to send Ukraine the maximum amount of military aid without triggering a catastrophic backlash by Putin. As the war continues to go in Ukraine's favor, many Americans hope that he will choose a moment to provide enough arms for a decisive victory.

In human societies, it's possible for a smaller individual or group to defeat a larger one—otherwise, the world would be dominated by fascist megastates, and freedom would not be possible. But that is not what the world looks like. Smaller countries like Ukraine can stand up to the powerful dictatorships and fight them to a standstill—particularly when they have access to advanced weapons and tactics. If Ukraine remains free, other countries will remain free as well, because fascist leaders around the world will be forced to understand that power does not always triumph. In fact, as often as not, it fails.

Junger, a journalist and filmmaker, is the author of the books Tribe, Freedom, *and* War

KYIV: ROMAN PILIPEY—GETTY IMAGES; DONETSK: MUSTAFA CIFTCI—ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY IMAGES

The View is reported by Leslie Dickstein and Simmone Shah

THE RISK REPORT BY IAN BREMMER

China's fraught plan to end the war in Ukraine

WITH ITS 12-POINT plan to end the war in Ukraine, China has taken a significant step toward center stage in international politics. In the past, it has avoided the risks and responsibilities that come with a leadership role on foreign policy questions that aren't directly relevant to China's national security. Now that Xi Jinping has consolidated vast power at home, he's ready to assert his country's influence in new ways. Yet, direct intervention in Russia's war on Ukraine is fraught with risk for China, its relations with America and Europe, and the entire global economy.

A Ukrainian soldier on the front line in Donetsk Oblast, Ukraine, on Jan. 29

What's in China's peace plan? Despite Western suspicions that the proposal is designed mainly to help Russia, it calls for formal respect for Ukraine's sovereignty, protections for Ukrainian civilians, an end to interference with the flow of humanitarian aid into the country, and condemnation of the possible use of nuclear weapons. The plan also reflects the views of those around the world whose primary interest in the war is economic, by calling for a cease-fire, an end to sanctions, and the opening of peace talks that might help ease pressure on food and fuel prices.

Though Ukraine's President Volodymyr Zelensky pledged to consider the plan, it has no chance of moving forward, because it does not require Russia's invading army to leave Ukraine, does not promise a return of Ukrainian land now illegally occupied by Russian forces, and provides nothing tangible for reconstruction of the country. An immediate cease-fire would freeze Russian gains in place, forcing Ukraine to try to persuade Vladimir Putin to voluntarily give back land. In truth, no peace plan is likely to succeed at this stage of the war because neither the Russian nor the Ukrainian government can afford to lose.

In addition, though Beijing has rejected the charge, Western governments continue to warn that China may still be thinking of providing weapons for Russia. Direct accusations from senior U.S. officials that China is considering the idea make clear that Washington is watching closely and that serious consequences will come if China presses ahead. For that reason, Beijing is unlikely to send Russia weapons or ammunition, but it surely hopes the threat alone will move NATO to push Ukraine to the negotiating table.

So what else does China hope its plan can achieve? It can promote China as a global problem solver and peacemaker with a blueprint most of the world can support. Though developing countries in Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East question Putin's motives, they see themselves more directly damaged by Western determination to make this war the most urgent priority in a world suffering from global crises like slow economic recovery from the pandemic, food and fuel inflation, unsustainable developing-world debt, refugees, and climate change.

CHINA'S PEACE PLAN implicitly presents the U.S. as a warmonger and NATO as the tool it uses to make an awful war last longer and cost more. It also allows Xi to interact with Putin—and even to visit Moscow in coming months—as a mediator rather than as an ally of the man who ordered the invasion. China may also be hoping to drive political wedges within America and Europe by creating an "off-ramp" for those on both sides of the Atlantic who question the wisdom of open-ended support for Ukraine.

China is playing a dangerous game. Any provision of weapons to Russia would instantly make an already fractious U.S.-China relationship much worse. The aftershocks from that quake would be felt around the world. But even if China continues to limit its involvement to the role of Kremlin apologist and gadfly would-be peacemaker, the impact on tensions between America and China may help ensure the war in Ukraine continues to expand in ways no one can control.

‹ *Will Smith shocked more than Chris Rock at the 2022 Oscars*

The Leadership Brief

By Eliana Dockterman

CORRESPONDENT

SINCE TAKING OVER AS CEO OF THE Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences last July, Bill Kramer has been putting out fires. The Academy is still dealing with the fallout of Will Smith's slapping Oscars host Chris Rock. And in January, a celebrity-backed campaign that some accused of violating Academy rules powered Andrea Riseborough to a surprise Best Actress nomination for her performance in the little-seen *To Leslie*, boxing out two Black actors who had been considered contenders, Viola Davis and Danielle Deadwyler. The Academy launched an investigation but decided not to rescind Riseborough's nomination.

Kramer spoke to TIME about the controversies and adding a "crisis team" for the big night.

Academy President Janet Yang recently said that the response to the slap was inadequate. What would an adequate response have looked like? Let's hope something like this never happens again—but we could have moved more quickly. And I'm not just talking about the night of the show. This is really our response after the show, and how we spoke about it, and how we talked to Will and Chris, and our members.

Are there any measures being put in place this year for surprises? We have a whole crisis team, something we've never had before. We've run many scenarios. So it is our hope that we will be prepared for anything that we may not anticipate right now.

> **'We have a whole crisis team... We've run many scenarios.'**
>
> —BILL KRAMER, ACADEMY CEO

I can't conceive what coming up with scenarios looks like. Because of last year, we've opened our minds to the many things that can happen. But these crisis plans—the crisis communication teams and structures we have in place—allow us to say this is the group that we have to gather very quickly. Obviously depending on the specifics of the crisis, and let's hope something doesn't happen and we never have to use these, but we already have frameworks in place that we can modify.

You recently issued a statement about Andrea Riseborough. Do you expect similar social-media-fueled campaigns to spring up next year? I think social media is a space where, if used properly and used in an ethical, kind, fair way, is a great leveler. I think it can be a good thing. We just need to put some guardrails around that.

Speaking of equity, *The Woman King* was snubbed. Director Gina Prince-Bythewood has talked about—and maybe you've read... I had lunch with her two days ago.

She said white actors can launch campaigns that rely on social connections in Hollywood in a way that many Black women and women of color cannot. What should the Academy's role be in making sure that campaigning is equal for everyone? In our industry there is sometimes a resistance to looking at certain roles and genres as being award-worthy. As an Academy, we work very hard to ensure that our members see and engage with them. To Gina's point about not a lot of people wanting to see *The Woman King* because [Academy members] didn't think it was "the sort of film that they should be considering," we need to break down those barriers. The film was remarkable. It was a critical success. It was a commercial success. For the same reason *Top Gun: Maverick* is being considered a Best Picture candidate, *The Woman King* should be in that conversation, as well as many others. It's critical for us. I hate that this happened. But I think we all want to see this as a silver-lining moment and do something about it.

Sign up for weekly conversations with the world's most influential leaders at **time.com/leadership**

The D.C. Brief

By Philip Elliott

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT

ABORTION IS STILL AVAILABLE IN South Carolina until 22 weeks of pregnancy, but intense efforts are under way to limit access. Dozens of state lawmakers back a bill that would make people who get abortions subject to the death penalty and another that would ban the procedure after 12 weeks.

From afar, such fervor among conservative politicians to take advantage of the U.S. Supreme Court's *Dobbs* decision makes sense. The state has loud and rowdy pockets of deeply conservative and religious individuals, and its politics reflects that tradition.

But the latest data tells a different story of a post-*Dobbs* world. Last year, 50% of South Carolinians said that abortion should be legal in most or all cases, up from 48% in 2018, according to the Public Religion Research Institute, a nonpartisan think tank. In fact, roughly two-thirds of all Americans say abortion should be legal in most or all cases. The 65% measured last year was up from 55% in 2010, according to PRRI surveys of tens of thousands of people.

And religion, it turns out, is not as predictive as you'd think. For decades, it was assumed that Christians were the main driver behind the anti-abortion-rights movement. But PRRI's new survey says white evangelical Protestants, Jehovah's Witnesses, Latter-day Saints, and Hispanic Protestants are the only blocs who don't have majority support for abortion rights. Even among Catholics, the support for abortion rights tops 60%, including 61% of Hispanic Catholics and 62% of white Catholics. Among Hispanic Catholics, support for abortion in all cases doubled since *Dobbs*, moving from 16% in March to 31% in December.

Taken together, it's clear that faith alone is not the power it once was. Conservative politicians—in South Carolina and elsewhere—are chasing an agenda out of step with most of their constituents.

For more insights from Washington, sign up for TIME's politics newsletter at **time.com/theDCbrief**

STUDENTSFORLIFE.ORG
I AM THE POST-ROE GENERATION
TEXT LIFE TO 53445
KEEP ABORTION LEGAL

Protesters at the 50th annual March for Life in Washington, D.C., on Jan. 20

OSCARS: MYUNG CHUN—LOS ANGELES TIMES/GETTY IMAGES; WASHINGTON: BRYAN OLIN DOZIER—NURPHOTO/REUTERS

INTRODUCING
NEVER HAVE TO TOUCH YOUR SHOES AGAIN™
MACHINE WASHABLE
No Bending Over. No Touching Shoes. No Kidding.
SKECHERS
HANDS FREE
Slip-ins™
NO MORE BENDING
JUST STEP IN AND GO™.
Introducing new Skechers Hands Free Slip-ins®. Putting on your shoes has never been easier. No bending over. No pulling them on. No hassles.
Exclusive Heel Pillow™ holds your foot securely in place!
LEARN MORE
AVAILABLE FOR MEN, WOMEN, & KIDS!
skechers.com

NATION

Welcome to the new American Dream

BY ALISSA QUART

THE CLASSIC LEATHER BOOT HAS HAD MANY NAMES over the years—lace-up, cowboy, congress, pale rider. To get your work boots on your feet 200 or so years ago, you would stand up and grab two small leather flaps on the sides, known as bootstraps, and pull the boot up. From this everyday activity, the idiom "to pull yourself up by your bootstraps" was born—and with it, a torturous myth that true success meant getting ahead on only your energy and steam, without help from your family, government, or community. While it was initially understood to be an absurdity, over time it became a phrase that millions of people take seriously. The phrase is now, arguably, the basis of the American Dream and its embrace of an individualism that shades into a brittle self-sufficiency.

For years, I have been struck by how much the self-made myth shapes public opinion and policy. As a reporter focused on inequality, I frequently see this relentless individualistic stance, even in the messages I receive from readers about how the poor are responsible for their own scarcity, strangers wagging their proverbial fingers at "single mothers" or people who've been evicted. They are following decades of instructions that Americans have to accomplish everything on our own, from poor women being called "welfare queens" during the Reagan era to today's Republican politicians opposing college-debt relief as "a debt-transfer scam."

But there is also a very different version of the American Dream from this one. It's closer to what was first imagined by James Truslow Adams in his 1931 book on the subject—more inclusive, more communitarian, and less singular. It's catching on. You can see it in the rise in the number of people joining—or attempting to create—new unions, and in the range of citizens now helping decide the budgets of their local governments. These are just two examples of the new American Dreamers that taken together show that collective action and community-focused activity are growing in popularity.

Their numbers include people who are joining psychological subcultures that operate like mutual-aid networks of the mind, with what one practitioner called "survivor-centered and survivor-aware care." Cissy White, one counselor in a kind of new peer-to-peer counseling community, was a trauma survivor herself. She led webinars during the pandemic, sharing memories of her extreme poverty and neglect as a child, including the father she knew living unhoused. But while all of this suffering could have hardened her toward those less resilient and made her self-focused, it had instead made White more rigorous in her generosity. Another woman spoke of her own abject poverty in childhood and young adulthood, how she once spent her days "drinking so much I was dying." White nodded in acceptance. A chorus of attendees also responded.

Mutual-aid groups rethink charity and create spaces where the giver and receiver are more aligned

While the need for mental-health care is often cast as an individual failing, those who are rethinking mental-health care believe we shouldn't have to hustle to access assistance or attempt to get healthier through self-help alone.

The fight for this new American Dream tends to require both social smarts and organizational abilities. For example, that's what people needed to participate in the mutual-aid groups that have risen up around the country since the pandemic. Local strangers connected by Google Groups, Google Calendars, and calling trees to bring groceries, eyeglasses, and medication to one another; they placed fridges in urban areas with complimentary food inside. In 2021, there were an estimated 800 such groups nationwide, but informally, scholars who study voluntarism told me there were many more. Near my apartment in Brooklyn, a volunteer group was organized by

community activist Crystal Hudson, who today occupies New York City's 35th District council seat, to help the aged and the financially stressed in our neighborhood, including her own mother, before she passed away. The result of that group was that creatives in their 20s were buying chicken feet and pig feet and taking them to the doorsteps of elderly Caribbean Americans. It meant that Hudson herself heard "people cry on the phone when I asked them what they want us to buy. They told me, 'No one has ever asked me what I want to eat before.'" Mutual-aid groups can rethink charity and create spaces where the giver and receiver are more aligned.

THE NEW AMERICAN DREAM can also be seen in alternative labor organization meetings or people rallying for higher salaries after a hard day as an underpaid adjunct professor or a low-wage restaurant worker. Think of the wave of protests by workers at universities and museums in 2022. These new brain-worker labor activists realize that advancement comes from better wages and benefits, not just from their creative endeavors. They certainly won't get it from the person at the top making over a million dollars a year. At one college recently, even the students joined, occupying the main glass building to insist that their adjunct professors, who are often paid poverty wages, get adequate raises and insured health care. In late 2022, faculty and graduate students in the massive University of California system marched and even kayaked to demand living wages, while in New York's Hudson Valley, sculpture-park workers picketed in front of a private club hosting an event for their trustees. These are not the typical union activists. Instead, they are culture workers banding together to address how they are underpaid and insecure. Even though they work in fields that tend to be highly individualistic, one of the striking adjuncts told me they had found new strength by bonding together: "We are woven together more tightly with our new social capital: that of raised awareness."

The dream also means workers entering their workplaces on different terms. This includes worker-owners of today's rising number of worker cooperatives, like the people who make up western North Carolina's Opportunity Threads, a worker-owned cut-and-sew factory that specializes in customizing patterns. I've spoken to a dozen workers at different worker-cooperatives and in their communal efforts—in these cases, the workers own their own farms and also work the land, or they co-own their own catering company and cook the food that's delivered as well—and they all describe a feeling of collective strength in their work, that their labor is offering a livelihood rather than just earning them their keep. According to the nonprofit U.S. Federation of Worker Cooperatives, there are now 465 verified worker-owned co-ops in the country, up 36% since 2013, with about 450 more are starting up. Worker-owners are often better paid too, according to the Democracy at Work Institute.

Finally, the new American Dreamers include people who have joined participatory budgeting citizens' groups in cities around the country. These are residents who are holding their municipal governments accountable, learning the ins and outs of their local governments and proposing to put civic money into improving park spaces or creating accessible paths to the public beach for the disabled. As one participatory-budgeting attendee said, they're allocating money in ways that were not how "government money was usually spent." The neighborhoods' inhabitants then vote on these citizen proposals at city-council offices or even at a folding table in front of the local grocery store.

An estimated 150,000 Americans have taken part in them since the practice was imported to the U.S. from Brazil over 10 years ago.

Despite the inspiration these pioneers show, many are still under the sway of the old bootstrap myth. A recent Center for American Progress study found that 60% of Republicans agreed with the statement "People get stuck in poverty primarily because they make bad decisions or lack the ambition to do better in life." Others polled by Pew Research Center in 2020 supported the idea that people are poor because "they have not worked as hard as most other people."

Opinions like these are why alternative community efforts must continue. National prosperity requires "community support as well as individual effort," as business historian Pamela Laird reminds us in her book *Pull*. The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. once said, "It's a cruel jest to say to a bootless man that he ought to lift himself by his bootstraps."

We must internalize these words and actions as elements of the new American Dream. It can emerge only out of heterogeneous communities, in which members help one another, if we are ever to escape the Bootstrap Society. Taken together these group efforts radiate outward, burning away the toxin of our relentless individualism.

Quart is the author of Bootstrapped: Liberating Ourselves From the American Dream, *from which this essay is adapted. She is the executive director of the Economic Hardship Reporting Project*

ILLUSTRATION BY SHOUT FOR TIME

A NEW HORIZON

New Murabba, the world's largest modern downtown.
At its heart The Mukaab, the world's first immersive,
experiential destination. This is the new face of Riyadh.

صندوق الاستثمارات العامة ١٣٩١
1971 Public Investment Fund

newmurabba.com

NEW MURABBA

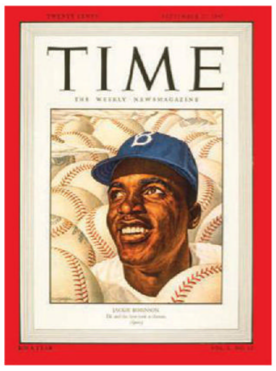
100 Years of TIME

A century-long tradition began March 3, 1923, with the first issue of TIME. Ten decades later—and counting—we're still covering the world's news through the stories of the people who shaped those events. To mark TIME's centennial, we're looking back at some of our most influential moments, all framed by the cover's red border—and looking ahead to the stories that the events of tomorrow may bring. Find more at **time.com/100-years**

Breaking barriers

Sept. 22, 1947

By Spike Lee



IN MY UNHUMBLE opinion, Jackie Robinson is the greatest American in history/herstory. I met him only once. It was in his later years, at a Long Island University basketball game, which was played at what used to be the Paramount Theatre, where Frank Sinatra sang to thousands of Bobby Soxers, at the corner of DeKalb and Flatbush, across the street from Junior's cheesecake, in the People's Republic of Brooklyn, New York.

During halftime, my Father pushed me toward Jackie, whose head was full of gray. At first I couldn't believe this man was the great Jackie Robinson. I went up to him and said, "My name is Spike Lee and I know who you are." His big hand swallowed mine. Jackie said, "Young fella, do you play baseball?" I answered, "Yes, sir." Jackie said, "What position?" I quickly answered, "Second base." "So did I!" Jackie shot back. After that, my Father taught me how Branch Rickey signed Jackie to the beloved Brooklyn Dodgers, breaking baseball's color barrier.

"Dem Bums" were the favorite team for Black Folks, even the ones who didn't know about baseball. They said their prayers every night on bended knee that Jackie would get a hit. They knew a lot—maybe everything—was riding on this. The advancement of The Negro Race. No African American had more pressure on him/her to succeed than Jackie. OK, you may throw President Barack Obama in there, but if Jackie had failed "the Great Experiment," would Obama be the First Black President? Jackie's failure would have set Black Folks back for many generations afterwards. Martin Luther King Jr. said himself, "without him I would never have been able to do what I did." He was a Sit-Inner before Sit-Ins. A Freedom Rider before Freedom Rides.

ROBINSON COVER: ERNEST HAMLIN BAKER; LEE: BRAYLEN DION FOR TIME; BIG BIRD COVER: BILL PIERCE; BIG BIRD: EVAN AGOSTINI—INVISION/AP

Lee in a game-worn Robinson jacket with two TIME covers (Robinson at right) he displays at his office

The deal Jackie made with Branch Rickey was that no matter what, he couldn't fight back. NO MATTER WHAT. Imagine the pressure. The entirety of African American progress is on your shoulders. The thing I feel kept the great Jackie Robinson safe and grounded is Rachel Robinson, who just turned 100 years young. She was his Rock. She knew the Hell he was going through, especially in 1947, the year of his major-league debut and of his TIME cover, a cover that now hangs in my office—before Rickey signed other Black players like Roy Campanella and Don Newcombe. This strong Black Woman stood by his side and loved him. I have gotten to know Ms. Robinson over the years. She is the definition of GRACE. She reminds me of my Grandmother Zimmie Shelton; she lived to be 100 years young too. These Black Women, pillars of our communities, stood by their Men, who, under the tyranny of White Supremacy in this country, were denied their manhood. Our Grandparents and Parents, these Warriors, did what W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington, with their different ideologies, championed: Uplift the Race.

When I was writing my original screenplay for *Do the Right Thing,* I knew I had to honor Jackie Roosevelt Robinson in this third Spike Lee Joint. Mookie proudly wore Jackie Robinson's Brooklyn Dodgers home jersey, number 42. Major League Baseball retired Jackie's number 42 in 1997; my question is: What took them so long?

Lee is a writer, director, and producer

Not just kids' stuff

Nov. 23, 1970

When TIME *set out to tackle the debate over children's TV in late 1970, a year after* Sesame Street *premiered, correspondent Mary Cronin was sent to interview one of the show's puppeteers—and ended up posing her questions directly to Oscar the Grouch instead. The story sent the message to* TIME*'s grownup readers that* Sesame *was a cultural phenomenon, and that its medium could serve a higher purpose than just entertainment. The past half-century has borne out that verdict, as well as the wisdom of the editors' choice of cover subject: Big Bird. Here, in the tradition of Cronin's work,* TIME *asked Big Bird to weigh in, as only he could, on the enduring power of his home—and how to celebrate a centennial. —Lily Rothman*

TIME
SESAME STREET
TV's Gift to Children

Sesame Street seems like a special place. All my friends live there. We have a lot of fun. We play all kinds of games, and we learn a lot together.

What can kids learn from seeing what life is like there? I've learned everything I know on Sesame Street! I guess I'd say that it's a place where everyone is included and everyone is kind to one another. And if you're ever having a bad day or a tough time, there is always a friend nearby to help you feel better.

What about grownups? What can they learn? Sometimes when new neighbors move in or people come to visit, I hear them say that they've never lived in a place that is so kind and welcoming. And I agree! Well, I've never actually lived anywhere else, but I guess that's what grownups could learn—to be super welcoming.

You must meet people everywhere you go who are interested in what goes on on Sesame Street. Why do you think that is? It's true! Everywhere I go, people have heard of Sesame Street! I'm not sure why. I guess maybe it's a little unusual to have birds, monsters, fairies, grouches, snuffleupaguses, and humans all living in the same neighborhood, learning and having fun together. Do you have that in your neighborhood?

I wish! Anything new happen lately on Sesame Street? Well, in the last couple of years, we've had some terrific new neighbors move in, like my friend Ji-Young ... and we've started some new traditions, like Neighbor Day. The whole neighborhood comes! Everyone is invited, people share foods they love making with their families, and there's music too.

TIME is turning 100 this year. How should we celebrate? That's a big number! You're going to need a REALLY big cake for all of those candles. Maybe you could invite all your friends to come share.

FROM THE VAULT

TIME
The Weekly Newsmagazine

GLAMOUR SHOT
A 1935 photograph of Jean Harlow, whom TIME called "the foremost U.S. embodiment of sex appeal," was such a departure from the norm that some readers were scandalized. "Movie stars' faces are all right in the movie magazines, in pictures, and in their proper place," one wrote in, "but not on the front cover of TIME."

1927

YEAR THE RED BORDER FIRST APPEARED
TIME's editors tried both green and orange to add some color to the cover, before landing on the red border for which TIME is still known. The border debuted on the Jan. 3, 1927, cover alongside a charcoal portrait by S.J. Woolf of British politician Leopold Charles Maurice Stennett Amery—and has appeared on almost every issue since.

Aisha pictured in Maryland in February 2023

A new life

Aug. 9, 2010

By Angelina Jolie

Inside: Joe Klein on the challenge in Pakistan
TIME
What Happens if We Leave Afghanistan

BIBI AISHA WAS 12 WHEN her father forced her to marry a Taliban fighter. She fled abuse at his hands, only to find herself captive once again. She recalls the terrible night she was taken up a mountain and tied hand and foot while her husband and other Taliban members discussed whether she deserved to be mutilated or executed. They cut off Aisha's nose and ears and left her to die, but she somehow found the strength to find help. "A power walked with me that night," she told me. Appearing on the cover of TIME for a story about the stakes of war in Afghanistan for women led to a new home in America. During years of painful reconstructive surgery, she learned to read, write, and speak English. Today, the picture she is proudest of is on her driver's license. But Afghanistan remains in her thoughts: "No one is safe with the Taliban." She spoke to me from Maryland, where she is studying to become a nurse.

A WARNING
In a letter to readers, TIME noted that editors had consulted psychologists about this cover's potential impact on people who saw it.

I've been fortunate to meet extraordinary women like you, who have really shaped a lot of who I am and what I believe about life. Many people don't know your story. Can you tell us about it? My father arranged a so-called marriage for me. And I got married to someone in the Taliban, and lived with them for almost five years. And they abused me every day. I didn't have any rights. I decided to run away, so I went to my neighbors' house. The police took them away, and took me too. I didn't have any choice except to go back and live with the Taliban. So I was happy to stay in jail. I stayed for five months. No one was beating me, and I had good food. Then my so-called father-in-law came and bribed the police and took me. I begged the police to let me stay. But I didn't have another choice. I went with them. And then my so-called husband came by and took me to the mountains. They tied my hands and my feet. And they cut my first ear, and then another ear and then my nose. And then he said, "We don't care about you. We want to leave you here to die." I walked. I went to my uncle's house and he didn't want to open the door to me. But something was powering me that night. I knocked on doors and told my story. I decided that I wanted to survive. I went to an American hospital and did my treatment for 2½ months, and

AISHA COVER: PHOTOGRAPH BY JODI BIEBER—INSTITUTE FOR TIME; AISHA: STEPHANIE SINCLAIR FOR TIME; MLK COVER: ROBERT VICKREY; MLK: LICENSE GRANTED BY INTELLECTUAL PROPERTIES MANAGEMENT, ATLANTA, GEORGIA, AS EXCLUSIVE LICENSOR OF THE KING ESTATE

they treated me like a family member. They saved my life. Someone in America accepted my case and said they would do my surgery. I spent nine months in a shelter. I had no idea what would happen to me. And suddenly TIME magazine came to me and took my picture. They opened the door for me.

You were brave in showing your wonderful self to the world, and what was done to you. Now, after the withdrawal from Afghanistan, the same people who harmed you are in charge. All that we learned and are outraged about, we know is happening every day. It's really hard for me. I put myself in the shoes of an Afghanistan woman. They had freedom for 20 years, and then suddenly they shut down everything for them. And they don't have any rights.

It's clear that those who block women from education do so because they're full of fear. When you don't have an education, you cannot do anything in your life. My teacher said, "When you learn mathematics and algebra, you're slapping the Taliban in the face." That made me so happy. The most important thing you can do is to educate women so they can help themselves.

You've experienced cruelty in your life. But it sounds like there are many people in your life now who want to protect you because they love you so much. When I came to Maryland and met my adoptive parents, I didn't tell my whole story to them. They just accepted me. I am surrounded by so many good people.

I have a feeling you're going to keep learning your whole life. This is my goal. I want to become a nurse to help people. I've had 31 surgeries, which means I have a lot of experience in the medical world. I want to help people who are hurting and say to them, if I could get through my darkest hours, you can.

Jolie is a contributing editor at TIME

'Dear Mr. Luce ...'

Jan. 3, 1964

By Martin Luther King Jr.

TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE
MAN of the YEAR

"In 1963," Martin Luther King Jr. once told TIME, "the civil rights issue was impressed on the nation in a way that nothing else before had been able to do." In recognition of King's role in that change, the magazine named him Man of the Year. In a Jan. 16, 1964, letter to TIME co-founder Henry Luce, King explained what that designation meant to him—and to the movement:

Dear Mr. Luce:

I am deeply honored that your staff and editorial board saw fit to name me as your 37th Man of the Year.

In light of the unprecedented peaks of drama, history and tragedy that characterized the year 1963, I must say that it is with a deep sense of humility that I thank you for so naming me, realizing that there are so many others who justly and deservedly should be accorded such a tribute. I would like to think that this is indeed an honor not to be coveted by me personally, but rather one to be shared by the millions of courageous people who have been caught up in the gallant spirit of the entire freedom movement, even to offering their bodies as personal sacrifices to achieve the human dignity we all seek. This, then, I consider a high tribute to this disciplined legion of nonviolent participants who are working so untiringly to bring the American dream into reality.

Permit me also to congratulate TIME upon its inclusion in the article of many of the Negro professionals who have achieved success in numerous areas of the main stream of America that ordinarily might go unnoticed by TIME's large audience of readers. This image of the Negro is certainly one that many of us like to see carried in the pages of our national periodicals, for it does much to help grind away the granite-like notions that have obtained for so long that the Negro is not able to take his place in all fields of endeavor and that he is lazy, shiftless and without ambition ...

Again may I say thanks for the honor you have bestowed upon me and my constituents in the civil rights struggle. It will long be remembered in association with a year that has carved for itself a uniqueness in history.

Sincerely yours,
Martin Luther King, Jr.

FROM THE VAULT

16 in.

SIZE OF THE 'ENDANGERED EARTH' GLOBE

When TIME decided to name a Planet of the Year for 1988, rather than a Person, the artist Christo was commissioned to craft a cover image. He wrapped a globe in polyethylene and rope, and then drove more than 350 miles to find the perfect setting in which to take a photograph of it. "The result—*Wrapped Globe 1988*—is a fitting symbol," the issue noted, "of earth's vulnerability to man's reckless ways."

TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

THE REAL THING

For a 1950 story on Coca-Cola, the editors hoped CEO Robert Woodruff would appear on the cover. He retorted that the bottle mattered more than he did—resulting in this illustration by Boris Artzybasheff, the artist behind more than 200 iconic covers.

FROM THE VAULT

THE RED *X*
The May 7, 1945, issue was already being printed when news broke that Adolf Hitler was dead. Fortunately, TIME already had a portrait of the Nazi leader ready, and sent it to the printers with instructions to put a red *X* over the face. It was the first cover with the bold symbol, which has since been used five times.

148

LENGTH, IN FEET, OF THE ‘RESILIENCE OF UKRAINE’ PHOTO
For the March 28, 2022, cover, French artist JR created an interactive portrait of a 5-year-old Ukrainian refugee named Valeriia, using a giant print of an image by photographer Artem Iurchenko. JR, his team, and hundreds of volunteers unfurled it in front of the National Opera in Lviv, as a drone took a picture from above.

All in the family

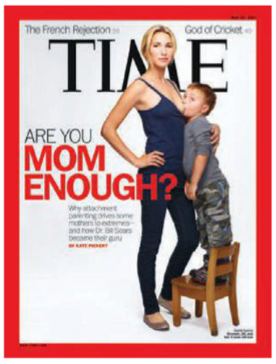
May 21, 2012

Grumet, right, with her son Aram, now 14, at home in February

MOST *TIME* COVERS FEATURE people already accustomed to the harsh glare of fame. Others depict those caught up in situations not of their own choosing. But occasionally, a regular person wanders unwittingly into the red border, because his or her life and the news briefly overlap. Such was the case in 2012 when Jamie Lynne Grumet and her son Aram appeared next to the question ARE YOU MOM ENOUGH?

Grumet and her son were doing something they did every day, usually around nap time: nursing. Aram was 3, older (and taller) than most breastfeeding American kids, but Grumet, who was herself breastfed until she was 6, was an advocate of the attachment-parenting theories of Dr. Bill Sears—which include allowing kids to set their own weaning timelines, and which were the subject of the cover story. “Aram was getting sleepy, so he was just standing there nursing while they were kind of pulling my hair back,” recalls Grumet, of the moment photographer Martin Schoeller snapped a shot. “It wasn’t necessarily something we were posing for. It wasn’t something that was unnatural either. It was just how we were.”

The combination of the unconventional pose, Aram’s size, and the provocative cover line caused an uproar. “I saw it in the media before I got to see it on the cover,” says Grumet, who lives in California. “People who were awake before I was were sending videos of all the news outlets that were covering it.” She was shocked at how much attention it got, not all of it positive. “It’s just such an abnormal human experience, having this much attention on you, and it’s not necessarily healthy,” she says. “It was really interesting, but that the focus was on me was scary. I felt really vulnerable.”



The cover had been the subject of considerable disagreement within TIME’s staff, with some calling it sensationalized and others saying it accurately captured the pressure mothers were under. Outside TIME’s walls, the cover was fodder for comedians, parenting experts, and a legion of letters to the editor. Thousands of people emailed Grumet, ranging from Dr. Sears to Alanis Morissette, who wrote the introduction and the foreword, respectively, for an attachment-parenting book Grumet wrote in 2019. After meeting other advocates at her media appearances, she became involved in clean-water and refugee causes, working in Europe, Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa. She traveled a lot, she thinks now, partly to prove a point—that attachment parenting didn’t lead to clingy kids. Her feelings about the cover have changed over the years. “I was worried at the time that it had done more damage than helped—but it didn’t,” she says. “Attachment parenting has been a lot more normalized the past 10 years, and so has breastfeeding.”

As for Aram, now 14, he remembers little of the shoot, and almost none of the brouhaha that followed. He recalls his appearance on the *Today* show as “a room full of cameras.” The cover hangs on the wall of his bedroom alongside paintings by his grandmother. His friends don’t ask about it, but if they did, he’d be happy to explain. “I’m proud of it. I like it,” he says. “I just see myself and my mom. It makes me feel happy that my mom helped people, like, nurse their children in public, so they didn’t feel awkward or nervous.” —BELINDA LUSCOMBE

Your big moment
Dec. 25, 2006
By Richard Stengel

TIME
PERSON OF THE YEAR
You.
Yes, you. You control the Information Age. Welcome to your world.

TIME's choice for Person of the Year is kept under wraps even inside the newsroom. So it was only a few weeks before my first POY closed that I told a larger group of colleagues that the choice for 2006 was "You"—user-generated content. The cover would have reflective Mylar on it so readers could see themselves. The idea was that in the age of emerging social media, content creators were changing the world. At that meeting, a writer with a well-deserved reputation as a contrarian said to me, "You know you're going to be mocked for this." I respected his candor, but I shrugged it off.

Well, he wasn't wrong. The New York *Daily News* wrote that it was one of the 10 most controversial POY covers in history, right up there next to Stalin and Hitler. Jon Stewart held up a picture of me holding the cover and mimicked me looking in the mirror. Frank Rich in the New York *Times* called it a "stunt" and said it might sink TIME. Countless college seniors wrote at the end of their résumés, "TIME Person of the Year, 2006." That still makes me laugh.

But think about it: This was 2006, not long after Facebook launched. MySpace was huge. YouTube was a year old. Twitter, Instagram, and Snapchat didn't exist. It was the start of a revolution that has made user-generated content the foundation of the world's media. Instead of the few creating for the many, the many now create for one another. The idea was and still is a radical one. If I got anything wrong, it was in not anticipating the downside of this new information calculus, the rise of hate speech and disinformation, and how a democratized system could be used against the very idea of democracy. I still think that the benefits outweigh the costs—and that the future of the media still depends on, well, You.

Stengel, a former editor of TIME, is the author of Information Wars: How We Lost the Global Battle Against Disinformation

HITLER COVER: BORIS ARTZYBASHEFF; MOM ENOUGH COVER: PHOTOGRAPH BY MARTIN SCHOELLER FOR TIME; GRUMET: CHRISTIE HEMM KLOK FOR TIME; YOU COVER: PHOTO-ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY ARTHUR HOCHSTEIN, WITH PHOTOGRAPHS BY SPENCER JONES—GLASSHOUSE; COX COVER: PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER HAPAK FOR TIME

TIME
THE TRANSGENDER TIPPING POINT
America's next civil rights frontier
BY KATY STEINMETZ

'It was about my community'
June 9, 2014

WHEN *TIME* ASKED LAVERNE COX TO BE the magazine's first out transgender cover subject, for a story about the fight for trans civil rights, she didn't hesitate. After rising to fame in 2013 for her role on Netflix's *Orange Is the New Black*—for which she would become the first out trans person nominated for a Primetime Emmy in an acting category—she knew she had to seize her time in the spotlight. "When the TIME cover came along, it was in the context of me trying to use this moment to mean something. It wasn't about me—it was about my community."

Looking back on that story nearly a decade later, it's clear we're in a different era—one in which news stories about trans issues don't spend as much real estate on definitions and history, but readers' increased literacy has paralleled more troubling developments. "In 2023, we are at the height of the backlash against trans visibility. We have way more people who are educated about trans folks, but there's also been a rigorous misinformation media machine," says Cox. "The backlash is ferocious. It's genocidal."

Since that cover, Cox has furthered her acting career with roles in *Promising Young Woman* and *Inventing Anna.* She executive-produced a 2020 Netflix documentary, *Disclosure,* about trans representation in Hollywood. And her role as an activist remains at the forefront. "Transgender people just want to exist," she says. "Even in the face of the propaganda and the bills trying to banish our existence, we've managed to find each other." —MOISES MENDEZ II

FROM THE VAULT

2

LICHTENSTEIN COVERS IN 1968

As the May 24, 1968, cover subject, Bobby Kennedy became one of the few real people ever portrayed by modern-art icon Roy Lichtenstein, TIME noted in a letter to readers in that issue. The artist said he admired RFK's "pop-heroic proportions as part of a legend." When Kennedy was assassinated just two weeks later, TIME turned again to Lichtenstein—this time for a cover on "The Gun in America."

TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE
CHAGALL
Self-Portrait

SELF-PORTRAIT

For the July 30, 1965, cover on Marc Chagall, the artist agreed to do a self-portrait, going through almost a dozen drafts before settling on one. When the painting and interviews were done, he declared the experience "one of the great events of my life."

Women OF THE *Year*

PHOTOGRAPH BY YANA YATSUK FOR TIME

12 EXTRAORDINARY LEADERS FIGHTING FOR A MORE EQUAL FUTURE

CATE
Blanchett

EMBODYING COMPLEXITY

BY STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

When Cate Blanchett was around 5, she wrote a miniessay—saved for years by her mother and unearthed serendipitously during a recent move—envisioning her possible future as an adult: "When I grow up, I would like to be a man. I would still love my family. But I could light a fire and go to work. And when I'm bored being a man, I think I'll just be me."

Blanchett tells this story over tea in Los Angeles, amused by the kid logic behind it. Yet all those half-fanciful, half-practical dreams have come true for her, at least figuratively. She has played a man—more than one, in fact—in movies like Julian Rosefeldt's dazzling 2015 *Manifesto* and (as the puckish troubadour Bob Dylan) in Todd Haynes' 2007 *I'm Not There.* Though she seems to take on projects without a lull, in conversation it's evident that even when traveling—she lives with her family in England—her thoughts stay close to home. A teenage son who's looking at universities, a husband, Andrew Upton, with whom she runs the production company Dirty Films: family is her inner orbit, maybe even the sturdy gravitational pull that makes her work possible. And if you think she can't light a fire—well, just look at her.

For her role in Todd Field's *Tár* as a top-class composer and conductor who negotiates the world on her own terms, Blanchett has been nominated for an Academy Award for Best Actress (her seventh nomination, and if she wins, her third Oscar). Blanchett's Lydia Tár isn't for you if you believe fictional characters, particularly women, ought to be role models. She's gay, but that doesn't make her nice. She achieves her overscale ambitions, but not without running roughshod over the women around her. Still, she's magnificent.

Blanchett, 53, is drawn to multishaded characters who don't court our approval—an all-time favorite is Ibsen's compulsive manipulator Hedda Gabler, whom she's played onstage—but Lydia Tár, in all her self-destructive glory and compelling unlikability, is like no one else we've ever seen onscreen. "We're all imperfect creatures. And sometimes we don't want to look at the unthinking, unintentional, inexplicable, ambiguous sides of being female," Blanchett says. "We are brave, we are noble, we are generous, we are collaborative. But we are also the dark side of that, because women are complex beings." You can't hide from the truth of yourself, and that's the very human side of Lydia Tár: "We know more about her than she knows about herself."

A slithery-shrewd femme fatale psychiatrist in *Nightmare Alley,* a 1950s mother who risks everything for another woman's love in *Carol,* the murdered Irish journalist Veronica Guerin in the film of the same name—Blanchett's roles speak to her preference for teasing nuance even from characters

Blanchett plays the magnificent yet reprehensible Lydia Tár

TÁR: FOCUS FEATURES

we think we've figured out. And in person, taking on the perhaps more challenging job of talking about herself, she poses multiple questions on the way to formulating her answers, often looping back to link a previous thought with a new one. Her movie-star presence is mildly daunting: Her short, sun-blond ponytail gives her the air of a punk ballerina. Sitting across a table from her, you realize that the special-effects glow radiating from her elf sage character Galadriel in Peter Jackson's *Lord of the Rings* trilogy was really just a minor, not-very-necessary enhancement.

But then, her capacity for delight reminds you that she really is of this earth. She talks about a recently discovered hobby, turning ceramic pots on a wheel, confessing that what she mostly does is center the clay and begin the shaping, only to scoop up the half-formed object and begin again. And she cracks up when, halfway through a somewhat glam photo shoot, she realizes that her black stretch pants have been on backward the entire time. "I think this is the bum part!" she says, pointing to two misguided bubbles of fabric pooching out from her hip bones.

Back-to-front pants are the least of anyone's problems, Blanchett knows. The world has been open to her in a way it has not been to others, her work ethic notwithstanding. Sometimes a childhood is marked by grief, and Blanchett's was: her father died suddenly, with no life insurance, when she was 10. Her mother and grandmother raised her and her two siblings on their own. But she speaks of her childhood circumstances only glancingly, fully aware of her advantages, including those that come simply with being born a white Australian. In 2012, she was horrified when her home country decided to shunt processing of refugees and asylum seekers offshore, to Manus and Nauru, and the shame of it spurred her to action. She has been a U.N. Goodwill Ambassador since 2016, working with the organization's refugee agency, the UNHCR, to raise awareness—and funds—to aid refugees worldwide. In the field, she is most struck by the plight of children. "You think, People have to see this, and they have to hear these people's stories."

'WE'RE ALL IMPERFECT CREATURES.'

BLANCHETT IS AWARE, too, that one global problem connects to another, and yet another. The climate crisis, she says, is one of the biggest challenges we face as a species, and she's alarmed by the amount of waste she sees in her line of work in particular. From 2007 to 2012, she and Upton ran the prestigious Sydney Theatre Company, and Blanchett takes great pride in how they repurposed sets and got the whole company involved in conserving resources. She'd like to make similar changes in the film industry. Why send a team of location scouts when you can make do with one or two? Why not meet virtually instead of traveling? Blanchett is eager to connect as many dots as possible, knowing that changes in one area force us to see the whole with greater clarity. "When people talk about gender parity, when they talk about exclusion and inclusion, they always look at the cultural institutions in this country first," she says. "So it's upon us to make those changes."

It's also incumbent upon those institutions—and upon us all—to listen, especially when we've made mistakes or failed to act with enough urgency. "It's so important to see where people are coming from," she says. "We're all in the act of becoming. Life is a constant act of changing and evolving."

At the heart of that evolution is creativity, which demands building on past experience but also being perpetually open to change. "Writers are constantly recycling ideas," she says. "You can't say there's an actor alive today who hasn't been influenced by Liv Ullman or Bette Davis or Joan Crawford." And even as we draw energy from the women who have come before us, she says, we have a responsibility to all those who will come after us. This is part of what it means to light a fire, and to go to work. But the underpinning of it all is to be oneself.

AYISHA *Siddiqa*

DEFENDER OF THE PLANET

BY KYLA MANDEL

When Ayisha Siddiqa talks about poetry, her face lights up. For the 24-year-old Pakistani human-rights and climate defender, poetry represents hope—a way to bring humanity back into the staid, high-level conversations that increasingly occupy her time. At the annual U.N. climate conference in Egypt in November, she shared an original poem titled "So Much About Your Sustainability, My People Are Dying" as an unvarnished rebuke of leaders' failure to act on climate change—the effects of which were made clear by Pakistan's deadly floods last summer.

Her mission is deeply personal. At 14, Siddiqa realized how unsafe the environment can be after witnessing the illness and death—including of her grandparents—that came from her community's polluted river water. At 16, she experienced another awakening as she became aware of the link between human rights and climate change. Growing up in a matriarchal, tribal community in eastern Pakistan helped shape her outlook. "I was raised with the idea that the earth is a living being, that she gives life to you and in return, you have a responsibility," she says. "And I think we, collectively, have come to a point where we are ignoring the cries of earth mother." These realities and values motivate Siddiqa to use her voice to uplift the vulnerable and hold polluters to account.

In 2020, Siddiqa co-founded Polluters Out, a global youth activist coalition, and helped launch the Fossil Free University, an activism training course. Now, she's working to set up a youth climate-justice fund to better distribute philanthropic funding to grassroots activists around the world. And as a research fellow for the Climate Litigation Accelerator project at New York University's Center for Human Rights and Global Justice, she's helping to create a system of support that breaks down silos between intergovernmental leaders and local activists, as well as pushing to integrate the rights of humans and nature alike into climate law. "This work is definitely intergenerational," she says. "I am young now. Tomorrow, I won't be. I absolutely love working with people younger than me to pass on this knowledge so that the chain never breaks."

PHOTOGRAPH BY JOSEFINA SANTOS FOR TIME

RAPINOE: IRA L. BLACK—CORBIS/GETTY IMAGES

Megan Rapinoe

CHAMPION OF EQUAL PAY

BY SEAN GREGORY

For Megan Rapinoe, reminders of dark moments from the U.S. women's soccer team's protracted fight for equal pay pop up from time to time. In February, when Rapinoe walked into the locker room at Toyota Stadium in Dallas for the SheBelieves Cup, her mind immediately flashed back to the same tournament in March 2020, when she and her teammates wore their warm-up jerseys inside out to hide the U.S. Soccer Federation crest. They were protesting U.S. Soccer's court filing, which argued that the women did not perform jobs requiring "equal skill, effort and responsibility under similar working conditions" compared with the players on the men's team.

Those difficult times are now behind her. In September, the women's and men's teams signed historic collective-bargaining agreements guaranteeing identical pay structures for national team appearances and tournament victories, revenue sharing, and equitable distribution of World Cup prize money. "It's a huge step forward to continue to build the sport," says Rapinoe, who won the Golden Ball award for the top player at the 2019 World Cup in France. The most visible and outspoken member of the back-to-back World Cup–winning team, Rapinoe led a movement that's been adopted by players in other countries including Canada and Spain and has inspired women across fields to demand equal pay.

Rapinoe, 37, will play in her final World Cup this summer in Australia and New Zealand. "I'm all for longevity, but we don't need to drag it," she says. Worldwide, investment is growing in the women's game, threatening U.S. supremacy. While she likely won't be a starter down under, the U.S. may need her late-game punch. "I want our team to feel confident and swaggy and be exactly who we are," Rapinoe says. "But ultimately, I want to win. That sh-t's fun."

MASIH Alinejad

A VOICE FOR IRANIANS

BY ASTHA RAJVANSHI

It's been 13 years since Masih Alinejad hugged her mother. That realization hits her during a TIME interview in early February, followed by another one: "Oh my God, I forgot my mom's face," she says, wide-eyed and shaking her head in disbelief. She stops and composes herself. "Look, I don't want to cry on camera."

Alinejad, 46, understands the power of her platform. Exiled from Iran since 2009, the journalist and activist has long spoken out against Iran's restrictions on women, calling the compulsory hijab "the Berlin Wall" of the regime. Her campaign alarmed Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, who not only rails against her in speeches but even sent his minions to kidnap her in July 2021. One year later, a similar plot was to end in assassination, according to a U.S. Justice Department indictment. "Women of Iran are his biggest enemy," Alinejad says. "He's scared of us more than anything."

And the women of Iran are angry. Monthslong, nationwide protests have roiled the country after a 22-year-old woman, Mahsa "Jina" Amini, died in September in the custody of the notorious "morality police" who roam public spaces to enforce Islamic dress and behavior.

Still, Alinejad arrives in surprisingly good spirits at TIME's New York City studio, coming from the FBI safe house where she is in hiding with her husband and son. She understands that attention feeds a rebellion built on the slogan "Woman, life, freedom." Regime forces have killed more than 500 protesters and detained thousands more; the streets have grown quieter in recent weeks. But the depth of her connection with Iran's young people—she has nearly 9 million Instagram followers—tells her the Islamic Republic is living on borrowed time. As the photographer works, she sings. "The words mean: because I am a woman, I blossom through my wounds."

ALINEJAD GREW UP in a tiny village near the Caspian Sea, where her father was a sharecropper. She found purpose as a newspaper reporter in Tehran but left Iran for good in 2009 after running afoul of the regime for, among other things, reporting that lawmakers had not taken a pay cut they'd claimed. "I asked too many questions," she recalls.

When she first began speaking out in New York, her only weapon was social media. In 2014, she launched a campaign called My Stealthy Freedom, asking women inside Iran to record themselves without hijabs; she would upload their videos to her Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook accounts. Thousands of women have obliged over the years, the campaign branding itself with the hashtag #WhiteWednesdays.

"Iran is inside me," she says. "I am there every single day through my social media." The videos and social media connections remain a way for her to connect with her homeland, where her elderly mother still resides.

In November, French President Emmanuel Macron, seemingly moved by a meeting with four Iranian women—including Alinejad—declared the protests a "revolution." She has also briefed U.S. National Security Adviser Jake Sullivan and met with other exiled Iranian dissidents to discuss ways of uniting a fragmented opposition. And she has asked female politicians to stop donning the hijab. "I am asking all Western feminists to speak up. Join us. Make a video. Cut your hair. Burn a headscarf. Share it on social media and boost Iranian voices. Use your freedom to say her name," she wrote last year.

As she speaks, Alinejad looks around the studio. For once, her own phone isn't in her hand. She has just been talking about young girls—16-year-old Sarina Esmailzadeh and 17-year-old Nika Shakarami, both beaten to death in protests last year—and she wants to put faces to their names by showing TIME photos and videos of them.

When these girls were killed, she says, "suddenly they became heroes. Why don't people pay attention to women when they're alive?"

PHOTOGRAPH BY CELESTE SLOMAN FOR TIME

VERÓNICA Cruz Sánchez

STANDING UP TO ABORTION BANS

BY CIARA NUGENT

FOR VERÓNICA CRUZ SÁNCHEZ, THE PAST year has felt like traveling back in time. Since 2000, Cruz's feminist activist network, Las Libres, has transformed the experience of getting an abortion in Guanajuato, a deeply conservative Mexican state that had criminalized abortion in almost all circumstances. Cruz and her colleagues have worked to distribute misoprostol, a WHO-approved abortion pill, across Guanajuato, helping women feel confident in its safety, and inspiring similar networks in other Mexican states. But north of the border, the mood is more tense. "In the U.S., the women we see are terrified," Cruz says. "They have very little knowledge about the pills."

Over the past 18 months, Cruz, a pragmatic, fast-talking 52-year-old who has campaigned for social-justice organizations since she was a teen, has expanded Las Libres into the U.S. After the Texas legislature passed a near total abortion ban in May 2021, she received a flood of messages from Americans asking how to help affected women. Interest also surged after *Roe v. Wade* was overturned in June 2022. Las Libres now counts around 300 volunteers in the U.S., who have so far assisted some 10,000 women.

It helps that abortion pills are readily available nearby: just a week after the Texas law went into effect, a ruling from Mexico's supreme court on Sept. 7, 2022, decriminalized abortion in the entire country, establishing a constitutional right to the procedure. (Las Libres is still working in Mexico to inform harder-to-reach Indigenous and rural women about their rights.) It was "gratifying," Cruz says, to see Mexican politicians supporting the ruling. "For 20 years they told me I was crazy, and now they're repeating my words."

Many might worry about the risk of defying laws like the one in Texas, which targets anyone who "aids and abets" abortions. But Cruz isn't afraid, she says, noting that media visibility may have helped her avoid legal problems before. And, she adds, the idea of being arrested for helping women get medical care drives her. "When people tell me I'm crazy to risk arrest, it makes me angry. What I'm doing is the only reasonable thing to do."

PHOTOGRAPH BY KHOLOOD EID FOR TIME

ONO: ISSEI KATO—REUTERS

Makiko Ono

ASCENDING CEO

BY CHARLIE CAMPBELL

You don't rise to the top of Japan's most venerable whiskey company without the occasional hangover. So it's no surprise that Makiko Ono—who on March 24 becomes CEO of Suntory Beverages and Food, part of a conglomerate best known for producing Jim Beam and Maker's Mark—has advice on a post-libation restorative. "When I was younger, energy drinks," she says.

A more stubborn headache is getting women into the upper echelons of business. Worth some $10.4 billion, Suntory is the most valuable company under female leadership in Japan, where less than 1% of the top stratum of listed firms have a woman as CEO. Women occupy only 8% of board seats at Japanese public companies, compared with 26% in the U.S. and 45% in France. Though Japan boasts the world's third largest economy, it ranked 116 out of 146 countries in the 2022 World Economic Forum gender-gap report.

It's a problem that Ono, 62, is determined to address internally at Suntory. After she takes over, four of the company's nine board directors will be female; Suntory aims for 30% of managers to be women by 2030, compared with just 13% today. "We are committed to designing a career path to promote women to management positions," says Ono.

Ono, who is single, admits that she probably wouldn't have reached her leadership role had she chosen to raise a family—but says women in the company no longer have to make such a stark choice. "Now 100% of our female employees who gave birth return to work," she says.

It's a new culture that she's proud to have helped forge, hoping others will take heed. Asked if she has a message for young women trying to build their careers, she is clear: "When opportunity comes, just give it a try. Take on challenges with an open mind." *—With reporting by Mayako Shibata/Tokyo*

QUEM
MANDOU
MATAR
MARIELLE?

ANIELLE Franco

BOOSTING RACIAL EQUALITY

BY CIARA NUGENT

ANIELLE FRANCO, BRAZIL'S RACIAL EQUALITY Minister, never planned to be a politician. That was her sister's thing. Five years older than Anielle, Marielle was passionate, decisive, and a born activist. In her campaigning for Rio de Janeiro's Black and LGBTQ communities, she would "act first and worry later," Franco recalls. "I was more timid. Because I had my sister there as a leader, I stayed on the sidelines."

That changed in March 2018. A year after taking a seat on Rio's city council, Marielle was assassinated—in retaliation, her colleagues believe, for her activism against police violence, racism, and corruption. The search for justice thrust Anielle, then 33, into the national spotlight. A competitive volleyball player and English teacher, she pivoted to full-time activism, launching a nonprofit in her sister's name, at a time when far-right President Jair Bolsonaro, elected in late 2018, was taking a hammer to the human-rights agenda in Brazil. Her tragic family story, warm personality, and deft use of social media turned the once reserved Franco into an unlikely leader in Brazil's Black-rights movement.

Now 38—the same age Marielle was when she died—Franco finds herself in a much more prominent position than her sister might have imagined, with a real shot at advancing their dream of a fairer Brazil. Franco took office in January as Minister for Racial Equality after leftist Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva defeated Bolsonaro in October elections. Her task is to make sure Lula's government delivers on his promise of equality for Black and Indigenous Brazilians.

The stakes are high. Police killings hit record levels during Bolsonaro's presidency as

NAYRA HALM—FOTOARENA/ALAMY

TIMECO$_2$

ACCELERATE YOUR BUSINESS TO NET ZERO, NATURE POSITIVE

TIME CO2 is the easy button for every business on their climate journey. TIME CO2 climate action portfolios include the best climate projects, delivering businesses quality impact metrics, supported with insights, information and tools.

FIND OUT MORE AT CO2.COM

he championed shoot-to-kill tactics; 84% of the victims in 2021 were Black. In 2022, a deepening post-pandemic economic crisis triggered a 60% jump in the number of Black Brazilians experiencing hunger—almost twice the increase among white Brazilians. Bolsonaro also gutted budgets of the programs and agencies designed to help marginalized communities. "This was a political project that he was pursuing—to push aside everything that was for Black people, for Indigenous people, for women, for poor people, for LGBTQI people," Franco says. "I'm just glad that we got to interrupt him."

Though the election was tight, stopping Bolsonaro was likely the easy part. To undo four years of backsliding on equality, and ultimately to push further ahead with new policies, Franco will need the backing of other ministers and legislators, many of whom are unlikely to prioritize racial justice. She'll also need to win support from a conservative-dominated Congress and from a deeply polarized public.

Franco says she remains a cautious person—but not one who can be shouted down. "I lost my fear when they killed my sister. Now I fight for something much bigger than myself."

'I LOST MY FEAR WHEN THEY KILLED MY SISTER.'

BEFORE SHE EMBRACED POLITICS, the most powerful force in the younger Franco sister's life was volleyball. She was 8 years old, growing up in the Rio favela of Maré, when she started playing the sport, which is hugely popular in Brazil's beach towns. At 16, she was offered a scholarship to play volleyball for two years at Navarro College in Corsicana, Texas. She ended up staying in the U.S. for 12 years (her teams "kept winning championships"). That gave her the chance to study English and journalism at two historically Black colleges—an experience she says helped shape her identity. "I didn't realize how incredible it would be," she says, smiling, "in terms of culture, representation, and my understanding of the antiracism agenda."

Marielle's killing—six years after Franco returned to Brazil for good—was an earth-shattering event for antiracism advocates in Brazil. Many Black women had already been clear that Brazil was "a racist, sexist, unequal country," says Bianca Santana, a São Paulo–based activist. But advances made under leftist governments in the early 2000s had left the impression that the country was stumbling toward equality. "Marielle's murder told us something different: It doesn't matter what you do, there is no place for you here. Even an elected official can be murdered," Santana says. "It was a call to arms."

Thousands protested in cities across Brazil in the weeks after the murder, demanding justice and an end to pervasive violence against Black people, women, and the LGBTQI community. Anielle Franco played a central role at those protests, along with Marielle's widow Mônica Benício. (Two former police officers are in jail awaiting trial for the shooting, but investigations continue into who ordered the attack.)

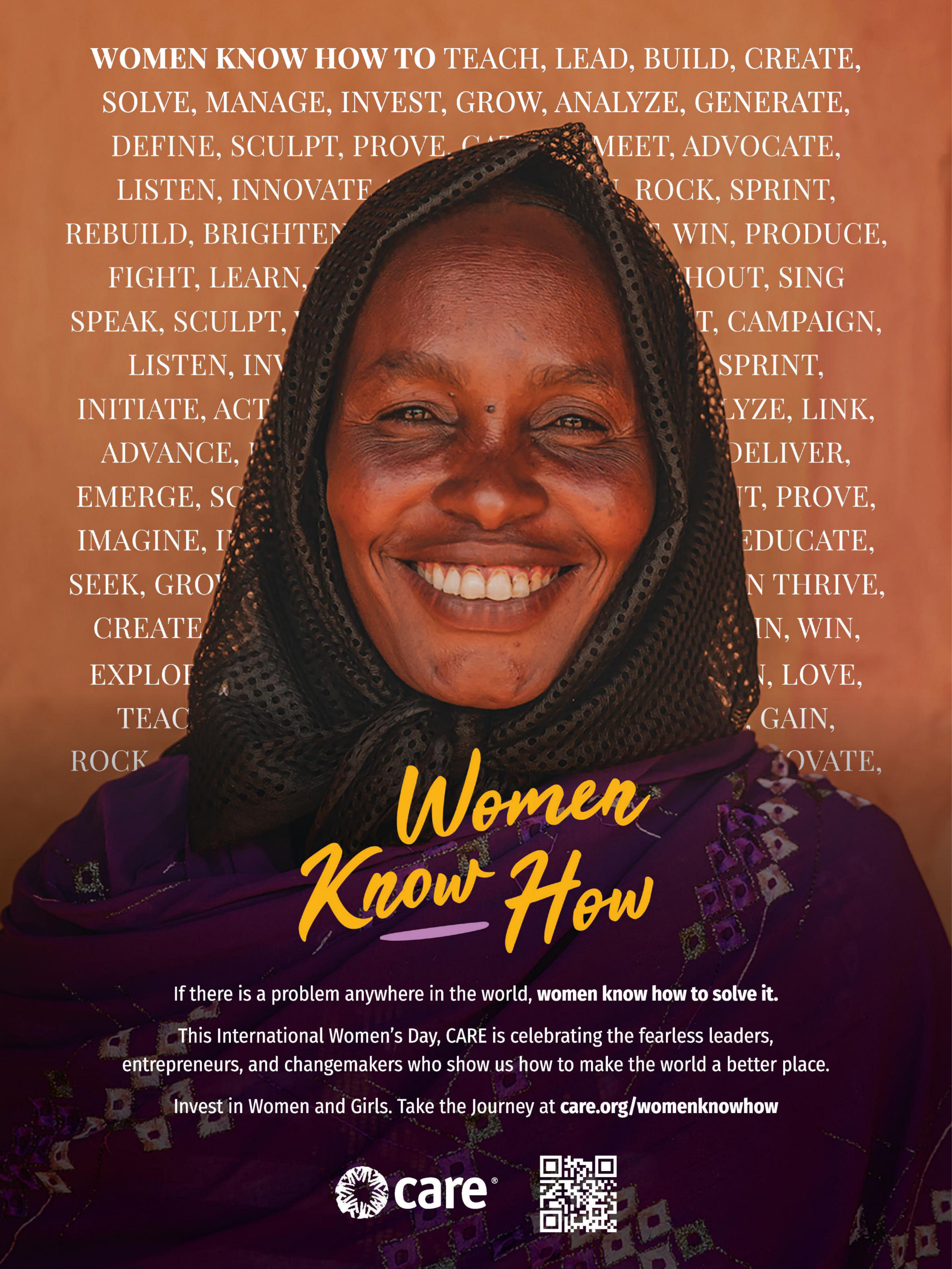
To channel international attention on Marielle's case into lasting change, Anielle founded the Marielle Franco Institute in July 2018. The nonprofit produced reports on incidents of racism, sexism, and political violence encountered by dozens of Black women politicians. The research, still widely referenced in Brazilian media, helped shatter a veneer of racial harmony that some still insist exists in politics.

Franco is most proud, she says, of the institute's work to get more Black women elected—including successfully pressuring the electoral court to mandate that parties give Black candidates a fair proportion of campaign funds and airtime on television. A record number of Black women ran for local, state, or national office in 2022, and 29 were elected to Brazil's Chamber of Deputies—up from just 13 in 2018. (That's still less than 6% of seats, in a country where Black women make up 28% of the population.)

Now, with the power of the federal government behind her, Franco aims to fight a range of inequities that she says add up to "the genocide of the Black population." One priority is combatting racist policing. Franco has already met with Brazil's Justice Minister and offered to help design effective policy, and she wants to coordinate discussions with civil society, police, and favela residents. "We want to produce a working strategy with concrete actions. We can't sit here speculating while people are dying."

On some issues, Franco will need the support of Bolsonaro loyalists, who have falsely accused Lula's government of stealing the 2022 election. "The first step is to understand who is willing to talk," she says. "If we can get through to some people, it will make a big difference." And she may be more successful than most, argues Santana, the activist. "Anielle has this very proper yet very warm way of speaking and doing politics. She believes in humanity," she says. "That makes people want to listen to her."

With four years left in her role, Franco has space to dream big. "I hope that Black people move into the place of protagonists in our society, and not just the front page of newspapers as victims of a genocide." Only then, she says, can Brazil become "the happier place" that the rest of the world thought it was before Marielle's killing and Bolsonaro's presidency. "The country of samba, of soccer, of so many good things."


WOMEN KNOW HOW TO TEACH, LEAD, BUILD, CREATE,
SOLVE, MANAGE, INVEST, GROW, ANALYZE, GENERATE,
DEFINE, SCULPT, PROVE,
MEET, ADVOCATE,
LISTEN, INNOVATE
ROCK, SPRINT,
REBUILD,
WIN, PRODUCE,
FIGHT, LEARN,
SING
SPEAK, SCULPT,
CAMPAIGN,
LISTEN,
SPRINT,
INITIATE,
LINK,
ADVANCE,
EMERGE,
PROVE,
IMAGINE,
SEEK,
THRIVE,
CREATE
WIN,
LOVE,
GAIN,
Women Know How

If there is a problem anywhere in the world, **women know how to solve it.**

This International Women's Day, CARE is celebrating the fearless leaders, entrepreneurs, and changemakers who show us how to make the world a better place.

Invest in Women and Girls. Take the Journey at **care.org/womenknowhow**

care®

Angela Bassett

INSIGHTFUL ACTOR

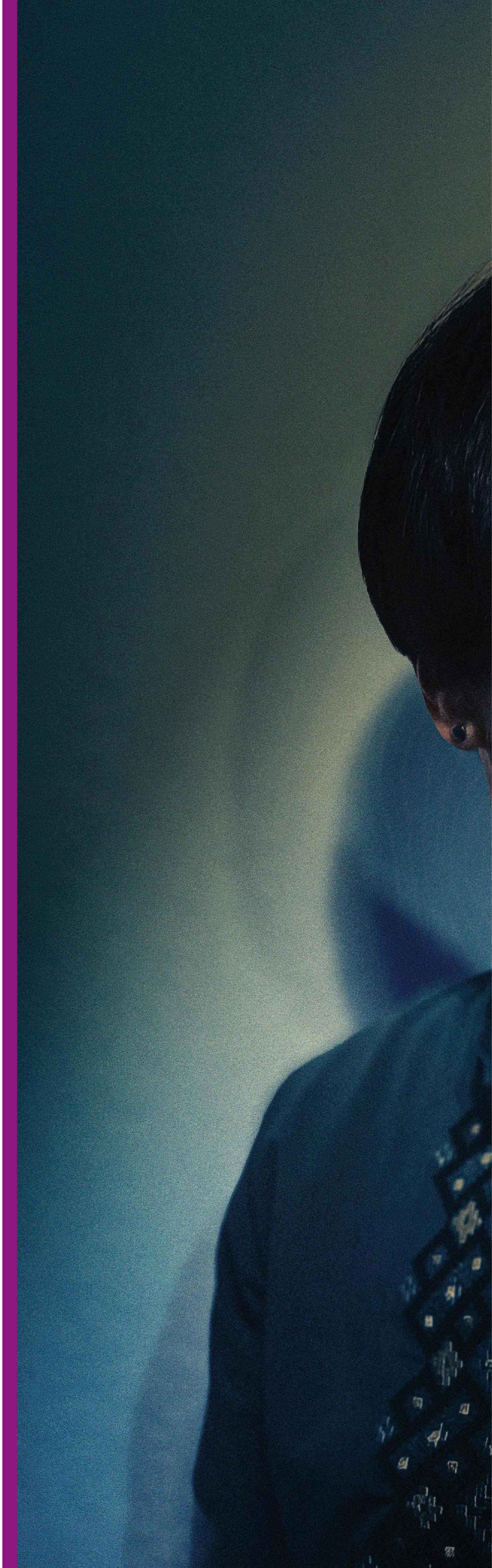
BY MAHITA GAJANAN

Angela Bassett, fresh out of grad school in the ’80s, intended to be a star. When she got an agent—a big deal for any actor early in their career—the man she was dating at the time tried to tell her it was thanks to his influence and largesse rather than her own abilities. “I refused to buy into what was underneath that,” Bassett, 64, says. “If anyone tried to make me believe that it was because of them and not my own talent, effort, perseverance, I wasn’t going to accept that.”

The relationship ended, and Bassett flourished. Onscreen and onstage, her range is dizzying. As Tina Turner in the 1993 film *What’s Love Got to Do With It,* sinking herself into the story of “a Southern girl who conquered the world of music,” Bassett fully embodied the spirit of the Queen of Rock ’n’ Roll—and earned her first Academy Award nomination for Best Actress. Almost 30 years later, following turns in films like *Waiting to Exhale, Notorious,* and *Akeelah and the Bee,* Bassett is making Oscars history after playing another kind of royal, the Queen Mother of Wakanda in *Black Panther: Wakanda Forever,* snagging Marvel’s first acting nomination. “It has been really exciting. And very, very hectic,” Bassett says of awards season. “I’m just using it as an exercise to remain chill in the middle of a whirlwind.”

As Queen Ramonda in *Black Panther,* Bassett portrays a mother grieving the loss of her son while trying to figure out how to lead her people. She says her experience playing characters that embody so many things at once has helped her realize it’s OK not to be everything to everyone all the time. “Women are called upon to be wives, sisters, friends, mothers, community leaders, activists, and we have it in our core to be these things,” she says. “But it’s important to give to yourself first, and then you have more to share with the world.”

MICHAEL ROWE—GETTY IMAGES



OLENA *Shevchenko*

MOVEMENT BUILDER

BY DAYANA SARKISOVA

On an April 2022 afternoon, nearly two months into the war in Ukraine, Olena Shevchenko's altruism was met with brutality. As she unloaded supplies from Poland to be distributed around a war-torn Kyiv, a man caught her off guard. Attacking her with pepper spray, he screamed, "Pervert, get out of our city!"

Shevchenko, 40, is no stranger to this kind of hostility. Since she co-founded the Kyiv-based nonprofit Insight in 2017 to support women and LGBTQI communities, she's become one of the most recognizable advocates in Ukraine, and has been attacked seven times in the past five years. Before the war, her initiatives were often met with resistance; nowadays, she finds getting people to understand her mission is even more complicated.

"Why are you talking just about women? Why not men? Why not everybody?" she says, outlining the arguments she regularly encounters. The reality, she says, is that these communities are especially vulnerable during the war: LGBTQI people face fierce discrimination from fellow Ukrainians; most humanitarian aid doesn't account for those with disabilities; and "the level of sexual violence during the war—you can't imagine."

Shevchenko and her colleagues have pivoted their efforts to fundraising—acquiring everything from first-aid kits to hormones for transgender people. She estimates that in 2022, they collected more than $400,000 from various donors and campaigns.

Shevchenko says that conservative groups in Ukraine often accuse LGBTQI people of fleeing, claiming "they are not protecting the country, they are not helping here in Ukraine." Her goal is therefore to show that these communities are very active "on different front lines. Not just military ones, but in other spheres."

The gender stereotypes she's worked tirelessly to combat over the years have also taken on another dimension during the conflict. Women have assumed a variety of roles in war efforts outside the home, including volunteer work and military service. "It's a daily fight," she says. "You need to remind people that women are not people who just need to give birth to new soldiers and take care of our heroes."

PHOTOGRAPH BY DINA LITOVSKY FOR TIME

QUINTA *Brunson*

A+ TALENT

BY LAURA ZORNOSA

QUINTA BRUNSON DOES WHAT SHE DOES—currently, creating, executive-producing, co-writing, and starring in the comedy series *Abbott Elementary*—for everyday people, taking inspiration for the characters from teachers in her own life. The showrunner's mother, Norma Jean Brunson, was a teacher for 40 years in the Philadelphia school district where *Abbott* is set. And the woman who gave the fictional school its name, Joyce Abbott, was Brunson's sixth-grade teacher, who recently retired after 25 years.

The mockumentary's satirical yet loving portrayal of teachers, janitors, principals, and parents trying to make ends meet at an underfunded public school is a homage to their real counterparts everywhere. Reflecting the diversity of West Philadelphia, the sitcom's teachers include a queer man; an Italian divorcée; and Brunson's buoyant yet bumbling Janine Teagues, who just wants her second-graders to have a fair shot. "All people have the ability to be both powerful and fragile," Brunson says. "Showing that helps to create more equality."

Abbott Elementary has been a smash hit, drawing praise from critics and viewers alike. The show, recently renewed for a third season, picked up seven comedy-series Emmy nominations and three wins this year: Best Writing, Best Casting, and Best Supporting Actress (for Sheryl Lee Ralph in her role as Janine's wise mentor Barbara Howard).

Brunson, 33, attributes much of the show's success, and the development of its characters, to her writers' room, which is staffed primarily by women. "We hear each other out on what we think makes these characters layered," she says. "Everyone's open to taking the lead and taking charge on these stories."

As a rising leader in Hollywood, she hopes she's setting an example for Black children everywhere, showing them that they can achieve their goals, no matter where they come from. And for fans of the show, she wants to underscore the value of school communities. "Through Janine and the rest of the characters, I hope to be able to help people love themselves a little bit more," she says. "And give themselves grace and appreciate the hardworking people in their lives."

BRUNSON SOURCE PHOTO: GETTY IMAGES; ALI: DAN BELEIU

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL ROWE

Ramla Ali

FIGHTING FOR REFUGEES

BY SEAN GREGORY

Going into a Feb. 4 junior featherweight bout in New York City, Ramla Ali, the professional boxer, fashion model, and philanthropist who represented Somalia at the Tokyo Olympics, felt less than her best. She had been coughing all week. Her warm-up left her fatigued. After Round 2, she returned to her corner—and felt pain in her chest. She tried to stay positive. "But inside," Ali says, "I was dying."

Ali, 33, won the 10-round battle against Australia's Avril Mathie in a unanimous decision that kept her undefeated as a pro. After the fight, she was diagnosed with a viral respiratory infection and a partially collapsed lung caused by pneumonia. Such a performance in the face of adversity bodes well for her chances to ascend the fight ranks. "My next aim is to become a world champion," says Ali. "And I'll stop at nothing to achieve it."

A title would help raise Ali's profile, and call more attention to her work outside the ring. In 2018, she started Sisters Club, a nonprofit that offers boxing lessons to women who don't usually enjoy access to the sport: those from ethnic or religious minority backgrounds, as well as survivors of domestic abuse. Sisters Club has expanded to four locations in London, opened a branch in Los Angeles, and will soon add another one in Fort Worth.

Ali is also a UNICEF U.K. ambassador. When she was a toddler, her family fled Somalia and was granted asylum in Britain. Before the pandemic, she visited the Za'atari refugee camp in Jordan, and she plans to make similar trips this year, hoping to destigmatize what it means to be a refugee. "Just the other day I saw somebody put on their Instagram, 'I've been eating like a war refugee all weekend,'" Ali says. "It's quite offensive. It's important for me to show that refugees are human beings as well."

PHOEBE Bridgers

SINGING TRUTH

BY ANNABEL GUTTERMAN

SHE COULD SEE THEM FROM HER PERCH onstage: a kid and their parents, getting up to leave. It happened at a concert in Florida last year—one of many where Phoebe Bridgers took a moment between songs to share her opinion that abortion is health care. Five years since she launched her career, Bridgers, 28, has a dedicated base of fans who she thinks of as being like-minded; sometimes, speaking out on the issues that matter to her can feel like adding more noise to an echo chamber. But then there are moments like this, when she watches a young person walk away from her, led by adults who probably don't like her music any more than they like her message. And that's when she recognizes that her voice has power. "I hope it makes a difference," says the singer-songwriter. "I hope those parents are going to lose the battle with that kid's opinions and belief systems."

Bridgers believes that if you care about something, it's your responsibility to defend it. The day after the draft decision in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization* was leaked, Bridgers posted on Twitter that she'd had an abortion in October 2021 and included a link to a list of funds accepting donations. When *Roe v. Wade* was officially overturned the next month, she led a crowd of thousands at the Glastonbury Festival in a chant of "F-ck the Supreme Court." This directness was nothing new for Bridgers, who has used her platform to speak out against politicians she disagrees with, call for police abolition, and show support for trans rights. The day of the 2020 presidential election, she tweeted a promise to cover "Iris" by the Goo Goo Dolls if Donald Trump lost. After Joe Biden's win was confirmed, she dropped the track, which she recorded with Maggie Rogers, and directed all proceeds toward Stacey Abrams' voting-rights organization.

Since then, Bridgers has catapulted to indie-rock stardom. In 2021, she was nominated for four Grammys, including Best New Artist. That year, she kicked off the world tour for her 2020 album *Punisher.* She's also been leading her record label, Saddest Factory Records, boosting the careers of artists like MUNA and Claud. At the end of March, she'll release a new album, *The Record,* with boygenius, the supergroup formed by Bridgers, Julien Baker, and Lucy Dacus. And in May, she'll join Taylor Swift for 12 stops on the stadium tour that broke Ticketmaster. "I try not to think about it that hard or I'll freak out," she says.

BRIDGERS' ALBUMS PROVIDE a cathartic soundtrack to those coming of age in a world that so often feels like it's falling apart. Through haunting songs that range from mellow to explosive, she nails the strange and specific sadness that accompanies living in an overwhelming time—and the toll that takes on a person's mental health.

While her songs speak to universal feelings about love, loss, and growing up, they are also deeply personal. She has described her breakthrough single "Motion Sickness" off her debut album *Stranger in the Alps* as being about her relationship with former partner and collaborator Ryan Adams, with the gutting opening lines, "I hate you for what you did/ And I miss you like a little kid." In 2019, she told the New York *Times* that Adams was "obsessive and emotionally abusive." (Adams told the *Times* it was a "brief, consensual fling.")

That relationship had a formative impact on her art, and speaks to her ability to take the challenges of life and hold them up to the light. "Strangely, well, not strangely—life is complex—Ryan Adams sent me a really long email once about how I needed to write the truth, because it's the only thing that's interesting about me," Bridgers says. The advice was mind-blowing to her at the time and, she says, changed her life. Her creative process involves mining the secrets she keeps from even herself, to powerful effect. "The more honest I am," she says, "the world just keeps opening up for me."

PHOTOGRAPH BY JJ GEIGER

The Doctor Won’t See You Now

PATIENTS ARE GIVING UP ON A LOUSY SYSTEM. WHICH ONLY MAKES THINGS WORSE

By Jamie Ducharme

YOU HAVEN’T BEEN FEELING WELL LATELY. You’re more tired than usual, a bit sluggish. You wonder if there’s something wrong with your diet. Or maybe you’re anemic? You call your primary-care doctor’s office to schedule an appointment. They inform you the next available appointment is in three weeks.

So, you wait.

And then you wait some more.

And then, when you arrive on the day of your appointment, you wait even more.

You fill out the mountain of required paperwork, but the doctor still isn’t ready to see you. You flip through a magazine for a while, then scroll through your phone until you’re finally called. You wait a little longer in a scratchy paper gown, then talk to your physician—if you can call it talking, since she’s mostly staring at a computer screen—for all of 10 minutes before you’re back out in the lobby with a lab order to have your blood tested.

Then you call to set up your blood test, and the waiting process starts over.

A few weeks after you get your results, a bill arrives in the mail. You’re charged hundreds of dollars for the blood work. The appointment was over in minutes, but your bank account will feel the effects for a long time.

Going to the doctor may never be a fun experience, but surely it can be better than it is right now. In 2019, even before the COVID-19 pandemic rocked the foundations of health care, an Ipsos survey found that 43% of Americans were unsatisfied with their medical system, far more than the 22%

ILLUSTRATIONS BY DANZHU HU FOR TIME

of people in the U.K. and 26% of people in Canada who were unsatisfied with theirs. By 2022, three years into the pandemic, just 12% of U.S. adults said health care was handled “extremely” or “very” well in the U.S., according to a poll from the Associated Press–NORC Center for Public Affairs Research.

Americans pay a premium for the care they rate so poorly. The U.S. spends more per capita on health care than any other developed country in the world but has subpar health outcomes. Average life expectancy is lower in the U.S. than in other wealthy nations, and about 60% of U.S. adults have a chronic disease. About 10% of the population doesn’t have health insurance.

And the customer service sucks. U.S. patients are tired of waiting weeks or months for appointments that are over in minutes. They’re tired of high prices and surprise bills. They’re tired of providers who treat them like electronic health record entries, rather than people.

That could dissuade them from getting medical care at all—and if that happens, America may get a whole lot sicker than it already is. Patients are, in a phrase, burned out.

‘I wish we could see our vet instead.’

—JEN RUSSON, ENGLISH TEACHER

PRIMARY CARE IS supposed to be the bedrock of the U.S. medical system. In theory, patients get annual physicals so doctors can assess their overall health and detect any red flags (or refer them to specialists who can) before those warning signs become full-blown chronic disease. While experts debate whether everyone needs a checkup each year, studies show that on balance, patients who regularly see a physician tend to be healthier and live longer than those who don’t.

Yet about a quarter of American adults don’t have a primary-care provider, and, as of 2021, almost 20% hadn’t seen any doctor during the past year. There are many barriers: it can take weeks to get an appointment, particularly in more rural areas where fewer doctors practice, and visits can be costly even for people with insurance. Research shows that during the past year, financial strain caused about 40% of U.S. adults to delay or go without medical care.

Plus, people just don’t like going. A third of participants in one 2015 study said they had avoided going to the doctor because they found it unpleasant, citing factors like rude or inattentive providers, long wait times, and difficulty finding a convenient appointment. Many people also skipped appointments during the COVID-19 pandemic, largely because of office closures and fears of the virus—but one study found that people were more likely to forgo doctor’s visits during the pandemic if they’d had previous poor experiences with health care. People of color, women, and people who are overweight frequently report feeling mistreated by their doctors.

Jen Russon, a 48-year-old English teacher and mother of two from Florida, says she can’t remember a single positive experience she’s had with a doctor. She struggles to square the $400 her family pays in monthly insurance costs with what she characterizes as a rushed and underwhelming care experience that pales in comparison with the attention her pets get at the veterinarian. “I wish we could see our vet instead, because they really spend a lot of time” with their patients, she says.

Part of the problem may go back to the way doctors are trained, says Jennifer Taber, an associate professor of psychological sciences at Kent State University and a co-author of the 2015 study on doctor avoidance. U.S. medical schools do an excellent job of teaching students how to practice medicine. But, she argues, they aren’t always as good at preparing students to be doctors, with all the interpersonal complexity that entails. “Patients won’t necessarily want to go back to doctors they don’t like,” she says. Even small gestures, like making eye contact with or leaning toward a patient as they speak, can help build a strong rapport, Taber says.

The pandemic certainly hasn’t improved bedside manner. It’s pushed nearly every element of medical care to the brink and prompted some providers to leave the profession entirely, worsening existing personnel shortages and contributing to an epidemic of physician burnout. According to one recent survey, 30% of U.S. physicians said they felt burned out in late 2022, and about as many said they’d considered leaving the profession in the previous six months.

Physician burnout only adds to patient burnout, says Dr. Bengt Arnetz, a professor at the Michigan State University College of Human Medicine who researches how to improve primary care. “Providers feel stressed, burned out, less empathetic. A lot of times they don’t engage the patient, and the patient wants to be engaged,” Arnetz says.

But these problems didn’t start with the pandemic, says Lori Knutson, executive director of the Whole Health Institute, a nonprofit focused on improving health care delivery. “We should all be

honest," she says, "about the fact that health care has been slowly imploding for a period of time."

43%

SHARE OF U.S. ADULTS WHO WERE UNSATISFIED WITH U.S. HEALTH CARE IN 2019

18

AVERAGE DURATION, IN MINUTES, OF A U.S. PRIMARY-CARE APPOINTMENT

21

AVERAGE NUMBER OF DAYS A NEW U.S. PATIENT MUST WAIT FOR A PRIMARY-CARE APPOINTMENT

IT'S IMPOSSIBLE TO EXPLAIN problems with U.S. health care without talking about insurance. U.S. patients pay more out of pocket for health care than people in other wealthy, developed countries, most of which offer some form of universal health coverage.

The insurance system is also endlessly confusing, says Dr. Ateev Mehrotra, a professor of health care policy at Harvard Medical School. Doctors may not know how much the tests they're recommending cost, particularly when every patient has a different type and level of coverage, so surprise bills are common—and so hard to understand that patients often have to spend hours on the phone seeking clarity from their insurance providers. One 2020 study estimated that dealing with insurance companies costs the U.S. more than $20 billion annually in lost productivity.

How doctors get paid affects the patient experience too. Many health systems pay physicians based on how many appointments and procedures they squeeze in, which rewards lightning-fast visits over those that are "about the whole person and not just what's wrong with them," Knutson says. This system can also incentivize doctors to recommend tests and procedures that aren't strictly necessary, which leads to extra costs and hassle for patients and added strain on the health care system.

Here, too, insurance is part of the problem. Doctors in primary care or family medicine often make significantly less than specialists, in part because their services are reimbursed at lower rates. That dissuades some medical-school graduates—particularly those saddled with debts—from entering general medicine, which contributes to shortages in the medical fields patients are most likely to need on a regular basis. When there aren't enough doctors to go around, appointments get scarcer and physicians become overworked, rushing from appointment to appointment and drowning in paperwork.

Some simple solutions exist. In a study published in 2020, Arnetz and his colleagues analyzed what happened when one small medical clinic made minor tweaks to its operations, such as reassigning some of the main provider's administrative duties to nurses or medical assistants and adding short team meetings to delegate tasks for the day. After two weeks, the clinic scored higher than a comparison clinic on measures of efficiency, contributing to better patient and provider satisfaction.

Traditional medical offices could also take cues from the services patients are increasingly gravitating toward, says Pearl McElfish, who researches health services at the University of Arkansas for Medical Sciences. Patients who can afford it are flocking to startups offering perks like same-day appointments and flat-rate monthly memberships. And one 2018 study co-authored by Mehrotra found that visits to urgent-care clinics, where patients can walk in instead of waiting for weeks, increased by more than 100% from 2008 to 2015 among privately insured U.S. adults. (During roughly the same period, primary-care visits dropped 24%.) During the pandemic, urgent-care centers only became more popular—as did telehealth.

"Currently [the traditional system] isn't meeting the needs of many patients," Mehrotra says. "Patients are voting with their feet and going to these other care sites."

The trouble with convenience-first medical care, however, is that it's often issue-specific. If you go in to get a flu shot, you'll get that vaccine and then be on your way. The clinician is unlikely to make sure you're up to date on your other shots or perform recommended screenings—the kind of preventive care that can fend off bigger issues down the line. On the other hand, these newer options can "put pressure on existing providers to be a bit more patient-centric," Mehrotra says.

Traditional medical offices could make some changes right away, without waiting for big structural overhauls, he says. They could offer "walk-in only" hours to treat people without appointments, text patients when the doctor is ready to see them, and include clear explanations on bills so patients understand what they're paying for. Even small shifts like these could make significant differences to patients.

The stakes are high. Ashley, who is 35 and asked to use only her first name to protect her privacy, has a gene mutation that heightens her risk of breast cancer and is supposed to get an annual mammogram and two ultrasounds per year. But she has to move frequently for her job in academia and hasn't had her tests done in four years because she got so fed up with the arduous process of finding new doctors, transferring medical records, and dealing with insurance every time she moves. "The barriers were enough that I just kept putting it off," she says.

Burned-out patients may retreat from the institutions that made them feel that way. Ashley says she's considering a preventive double mastectomy—a surgery she may have needed anyway because of her genetic predisposition, but one made more appealing by her desire to stop dealing with "pain in the butt" medical appointments. Russon, from Florida, says she's felt tempted to cancel her family's insurance and go to the doctor only when absolutely necessary, though she's never acted on the urge. Other patients, however, may walk away from the health care system entirely. It may not be the wisest or healthiest response, but it's a human one.

TIME100

IMPACT AWARDS

DUBAI

ON FEBRUARY 12, TIME HONORED THE RECIPIENTS OF ITS 2023 TIME100 IMPACT AWARDS IN DUBAI, CELEBRATING THE EXTRAORDINARY INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE HELPING TO BUILD A BETTER FUTURE.

SEE MORE TIME.COM/IMPACT

LEFT TO RIGHT: MUSICIAN AND ENTREPRENEUR **WILL.I.AM**, PERFORMER **MAYSSA KARAA**, CEO, MODEL, AND ACTIVIST **SABRINA DHOWRE ELBA**, ACTOR, FILMMAKER, MUSICIAN, AND IFAD GOODWILL AMBASSADOR **IDRIS ELBA**, MINISTER OF STATE FOR ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE, DIGITAL ECONOMY, AND REMOTE WORK APPLICATIONS **OMAR BIN SULTAN AL OLAMA**, FOUNDER, GRAÇA MACHEL TRUST, **GRAÇA MACHEL**, FOREST CONSERVATIONIST AND FOUNDER, HAKA **FARWIZA FARHAN**

THANK YOU TO OUR PARTNERS

FOUNDING PARTNER

WORLD GOVERNMENT SUMMIT

EXPERIENCE PARTNER

متحف المستقبل
MUSEUM OF THE FUTURE

Time Off

IN THE SHALLOW

BY JUDY BERMAN

Amazon's *Daisy Jones & the Six* adaptation is the latest rock-'n'-roll saga to paint a superficial portrait of musical genius

INSIDE

A NEW CHAPTER IN THE *ROCKY* FRANCHISE

IDRIS ELBA TAKES ANOTHER RUN AT *LUTHER*

YOUR PRE-OSCARS WATCH LIST

PHOTOGRAPH BY LACEY TERRELL

Fictional Rock and Roll Hall of Fame

A STAR IS BORN
ALMOST FAMOUS

Ask ChatGPT to "write a fictionalized biography of Fleetwood Mac in the style of an oral history," and the bot will respond with a flurry of hilariously realistic clichés about the "wild ride" that is rock stardom. "We were making records that people really connected with," says one imagined band member. "It was a wonderful feeling." Another observes that "the success was great, but it also came with a lot of pressure."

This uncanny-valley conversation could've been ripped from the pages of Taylor Jenkins Reid's 2019 novel *Daisy Jones & the Six*. Structured as an oral history and openly influenced by Fleetwood Mac's tumultuous romances, it traces the slow rise and abrupt combustion of a 1970s L.A. rock band. "I felt connected to them in a way that I hadn't felt connected to anyone before," Stevie Nicks analogue Daisy Jones recalls, of a crowd at one show. Hedonistic drummer Warren explains that being "at the top" isn't always fun because "that's when you've got the pressure."

With its unusual format, retro glamour, and characters both inspired by real people and generic to rock lore, Reid's book is a vibe, a mood, an aesthetic (Canyoncore?). Figure in the will-they-or-won't-they tension between Daisy & the Six's married leader Billy Dunne, and you'll understand its enormous appeal to the romance mavens of BookTok, who helped *Daisy Jones* sell more than a million copies. Now the book is back on best-seller lists in advance of a TV adaptation debuting March 3 on Amazon Prime Video.

Produced by Reese Witherspoon's Hello Sunshine—a company known for transforming buzzy books like *Big Little Lies* and *Little Fires Everywhere* into small-screen smashes—and starring genuine rock royalty (Elvis' granddaughter Riley Keough), the 10-part musical drama reportedly spared no expense. The New York *Times* inventoried its wardrobe (250 ensembles a night at one point), music (25 original songs with input from Phoebe Bridgers, Marcus Mumford, and more), and publicity machine (at least 30 flacks). Yet the series is more hollow and hackneyed than the novel. Not that this makes either incarnation a rarity among stories about musicians. Shallow portraits of pop genius are the norm across narrative art forms, which are poorly equipped to capture the ineffable qualities of music, and whose creators so often seem to be working backward from larger-than-life personas instead of real people.

Framed as a documentary looking back on Daisy Jones & the Six two decades after their onstage implosion in 1977, the show begins like most episodes of *Behind the Music*—with the protagonists' rough childhoods. "No one wants to hear your voice," poor little rich girl Daisy's mother hisses when her daughter's singing interrupts a party. Billy (Sam Claflin), a working-class Pittsburgh dreamer, fronts his younger brother Graham's (Will Harrison) high school garage act as a favor but gets serious about music after a heartbreaking run-in with their estranged father.

The show barely fleshes out the other people in the Dunnes' bluesy band. In Eagles terms, bassist Eddie (Josh Whitehouse) is the bitter Don Felder to Billy's Glenn Frey. Warren (Sebastian Chacon) digs partying, chicks, and partying with chicks. Keyboardist Karen (Suki Waterhouse) is a slightly more layered character in that she underplays her beauty in order to be taken seriously in a sexist industry. The adaptation cuts the lineup from the book's six to five, which is only a problem because the band is still called the Six.

Pop music traffics in a messy form of transcendence

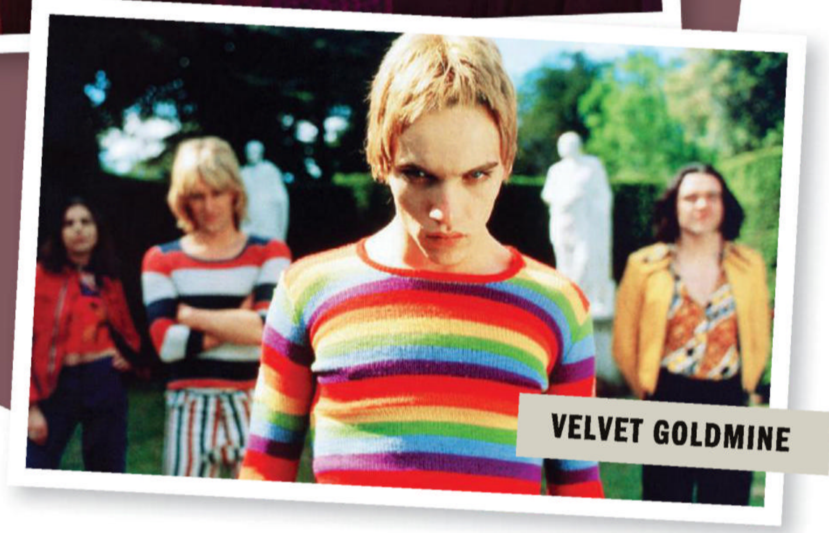
Brought in by ace producer Teddy Price (Tom Wright), Daisy meshes and clashes with Billy immediately. If only the show, like the book, didn't emphasize to the point of redundancy the way Daisy, a casual drug abuser, mirrors Billy, who gets sober after his alcohol-fueled infidelity on an early tour nearly loses him his ride-or-die wife (Camila Morrone) and baby daughter.

Adapted by *(500) Days of Summer* writers Scott Neustadter and Michael H. Weber, *Daisy Jones* does hit a few high notes. Keough grounds what could've been an ethereal sad girl in intelligence and drive—but in a choice that suggests *A Star Is Born* was on the show's mood board, Claflin's Billy is nothing but a human wince. While the wigs are awful (pity Timothy Olyphant as a fluffy-haired manager), the costumes dazzle. There's no "Shallow"-level single, but songwriter

I'M NOT THERE

RAP SH!T

EMPIRE


VELVET GOLDMINE

Blake Mills salvages cringey lyrics from the book with arrangements that vary from whispery folk to pop-rock in the *Rumours* mold.

Sadly, Neustadter and Weber also ratchet up the drama with more cheating, more self-destruction, more conflict—changes that erase all preexisting nuance, including Reid's shrewd divergence from tired female-rivalry story lines. The acting is uneven. Scripts maintain the book's silliest platitudes and reinforce its strange misconception that 95% of songwriting is scribbling lyrics in a notebook. Crowd scenes look shoddy. Characters constantly marvel at the greatness of live performances that don't come across as particularly special.

POP MUSIC, AT ITS BEST, traffics in a messy form of transcendence. It's the clattering percussion of drumsticks tapping a Coke bottle in the Dixie Cups' "Iko Iko," the tremor in Patti Smith's voice on "Dancing Barefoot," the wistful way Nicks elongates the word *home* in "Gold Dust Woman"—to borrow a few *Daisy Jones* needle drops. Story is tangential to feeling, which makes writing good fiction about the alchemy of rock even harder than dancing about architecture. (At least dance and architecture are both nonnarrative art forms.)

Reid, Neustadter, and Weber are hardly the first creators to struggle with this challenge. Salman Rushdie and Jonathan Lethem wrote their most self-indulgent novels (*The Ground Beneath Her Feet* and *You Don't Love Me Yet,* respectively) about musicians. Co-creators Martin Scorsese and Mick Jagger couldn't save HBO's *Vinyl* from the absurdity of scenes like one where a white record executive accidentally witnesses the birth of hip-hop.

The best pop stories approach music's mythos differently. Sometimes they spoof the idea of genius, as *This Is Spinal Tap* so famously did. Sometimes they evade it. Fox's *Empire,* which re-created *King Lear* succession drama at a hip-hop record label, was a show about power more than art. Cameron Crowe's beloved 2000 film *Almost Famous* is really a coming-of-age story, more memorable for giving us Billy Crudup screaming, "I am a golden god!" from a rooftop than for anything his band did onstage.

It's rarer—and much harder—to do justice to the magic of musicmaking. For the most recent edition of *A Star Is Born,* one standout song and two passionate performances yielded a solid facsimile. Series like HBO Max's *Rap Sh!t* and Peacock's *We Are Lady Parts,* which follow young, female artists launching careers outside the mainstream, thrive on the ecstasy of collaboration. Todd Haynes, the filmmaker behind two brilliant portraits of musical genius—prismatic Bob Dylan biopic *I'm Not There* and *Velvet Goldmine,* which fictionalizes glam-era Bowie—filters rock innovators through the life-altering fantasies they inspire in their fans.

Short on imagination and (intentional) humor, *Daisy Jones* tries with painful earnestness to capture an inchoate love between two geniuses making a classic album. It's a tightrope walk on a wire made of dental floss. The only possible way to make it work is through protagonists built from scratch, rather than sanded down, as Daisy and Billy are, from public images made colossal by decades of breathless media coverage, industry lore, and fan worship. Formulating a generic, alternate-universe Fleetwood Mac is a project for AI. Human artists, capable of sublimating real emotion and experience, have got to do better. ◻

OPENING PAGE SOURCE PHOTO: AMAZON STUDIOS; THESE PAGES: EVERETT COLLECTION (5); RAP SHIT: HBO MAX

REVIEW

A boxing franchise that feels like a gift, again

BY STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

NOW THAT OUR LIVES REVOLVE AROUND TINY screens tailored to our individual likes and dislikes, the act of trying to please a crowd—specifically, a crowd of moviegoers gathered at an actual theater—has become more a noble pursuit than a purely money-grubbing one. Relying on the popularity of a franchise is one way to pack ’em in. But those of us who care about movies, and about the experience of seeing them together, have become understandably wary of that strategy. We’re IP weary. Is it even possible, at this point, to build a better sequel?

Creed III, Michael B. Jordan’s directorial debut—a sequel to a sequel to a sequel, tracing back to the 1976 boxing blockbuster *Rocky*—proves that it is. Jordan also reprises the role of Adonis “Donnie” Creed, the underdog boxing superstar he played first in Ryan Coogler’s 2015 *Creed,* a brash surprise, and later in the less satisfying 2018 *Creed II*.

Donnie is the son of the late Apollo Creed, the former foe and later friend of Sylvester Stallone’s Rocky Balboa; across two movies, he has overcome his daddy issues and become his own man. Now, in *Creed III,* he has retired from boxing and lives a cushy life in Los Angeles with his wife Bianca (the always engaging Tessa Thompson), a former musician and performer who, to preserve her deteriorating hearing, has become a record producer, and their daughter Amara (Mila Davis-Kent), who was born deaf. Donnie now spends his days sipping from tiny cups at Amara’s tea parties (dressed in a frog suit, at her request); sometimes he ambles down to the gym that bears his name (for this, he swaps the frog for the casual cool of a matching hoodie and suit jacket in muted mushroom tones—this guy sure knows how to spend his money).

Life is good! Until it’s not. A half-needy, half-menacing figure emerges from Donnie’s murky past. Damian Anderson (Jonathan Majors) shows up at Donnie’s gym unbidden, dressed in rumpled Carhartt and worn-down work boots. His shambling, long-time-no-see humility is a kind of reproach, and Donnie is both moved and dismayed at seeing him. The rest of the movie unpacks their backstory. The way forward won’t be easy, involving guilt, payback, and some pretty brutal boxing.

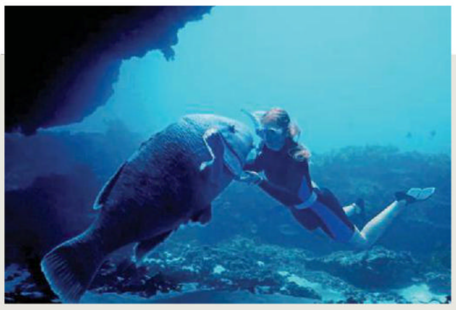
In front of the camera and behind it, Jordan justifies another Rocky *sequel*

As both actor and director, Jordan pulls off some fancy footwork

AS BOTH ACTOR AND DIRECTOR, Jordan pulls off some fancy footwork in *Creed III.* He has a knack for melodrama, with all its heightened emotional textures, but he’s careful to keep it in check, buffing it down till it glows. (The story is by Ryan Coogler; the script was written by Keenan Coogler, his brother, and Zach Baylin.) The boxing sequences are sharp-elbowed, smartly edited and beautiful in their own pitiless way. In one brief slow-motion sequence, droplets of sweat fly into the air like wayward Swarovski crystals as two angry bruisers beat the hell out of each other. It’s the sort of effect, artificial as a drawn-on beauty mark, that the big screen was made for.

Especially for a first-time director, Jordan shapes his own performance with admirable restraint. He’s believable as a man who suddenly finds himself adrift after thinking he’s secured a permanent perch at the top of the world. And Majors is scarily superb. His Damian is a glowering, self-pitying presence, a mess of a man constantly seeking approval. His neediness is as obvious as his bulging muscles. You’re never sure how to feel about him, but you can’t look away.

The climactic fight of *Creed III* leaves you feeling good—for about 30 seconds. And then a note of melancholy wafts into the ring; the winner’s victory is bittersweet. The formula *Creed III* springs from is as familiar as your basic right hook, but instead of trying to buck convention, Jordan leans right into it. He’s playing to the crowd, all right. But maybe it’s about time someone gave some thought to what we might want to see. □



Fogg and friend: fins for life

REVIEW

FISHING FOR MEANING

We live in such rushed and anxious times that most of us probably spend more energy worrying about the imperiled environment than we do savoring its beauty. *Blueback,* adapted by director Robert Connolly from a novel by Tim Winton, is a gentle, gorgeously filmed story about a fraught relationship between a mother and daughter, and the cause that unites them. The setting, alluring by itself, is the Western Australian coast, its waters teeming with lustrous striped fish and undulating plant life.

Abby (Mia Wasikowska) is a marine biologist who's called home to that coast when her mother Dora suffers a serious stroke. The story of how Abby found her life's calling unfolds in flashback, focusing largely on her teenage years (where she's played by newcomer Ilsa Fogg). During that period, Dora (a feisty Radha Mitchell) is focused dually on preserving endangered coastal waters and instilling in her daughter a love of the natural world.

The living, swimming metaphor for that world is a wild blue groper, a mighty, long-lived fish with oversized cartoon lips and a plaintive expression, discovered by Dora and Abby when the latter is still a child, just learning to dive into the waters near her home. Abby christens this noble creature Blueback, and her connection with him through the years anchors a story that's as gently compelling as the allure of sun-warmed water—but also as urgent as a ticking clock. —S.Z.

CREED III: METRO-GOLDWYN-MAYER STUDIOS; BLUEBACK: COURTESY TIFF; LUTHER: THE FALLEN SUN: NETFLIX

REVIEW

A tortured detective, a devious villain, and a coat to die for

IT'S HARD TO LOVE A MAN WHO'S so obsessed with his work he can't leave it at the office. But it helps if he's played by Idris Elba. In *Luther: The Fallen Sun,* a movie stand-alone adapted from the TV series, Elba's London detective John Luther hops on a case that might spell the end for him, given his history of getting a bit too cozy with the criminals he's investigating (though you don't need to have seen the show to get the gist).

A twisted mastermind (played by Andy Serkis in a truly terrifying wig that swerves around his pate like a curled-up forest animal) is close to finalizing a horrific plan that involves cyberblackmail, kidnapping and teenagers locked in dank cages—you know, the usual grim TV-detective folderol. But Luther is sniffing a little too close to this pungent scheme. A quick phone call to the right people and the perpetually self-tortured and not 100% moral Luther is unceremoniously whisked behind bars, which seems to suit plenty of his colleagues just fine, including Cynthia Erivo's Odette Raine, who rises in the ranks with his removal. Will Luther bust out in time to stop the sicko villain and stand boldly atop a tall building, his supple but manly tweed coat swirling around him in the wind?

Sometimes *The Fallen Sun*—directed by Jamie Payne and written by the show's creator, Neil Cross—is genuinely creepy in its brooding vision of all the ways an evil genius might manipulate our preoccupation with staring at screens. Other times, it's just eyeroll-inducing. You could build a drinking game around the number of times one imperiled teen calls out "Mooommm!" even as her poor mother is doing her damnedest to save her. But the mere presence of Elba's Luther, with his haunted gaze, his voice as plush as the finest antique Persian carpet, is enough to keep *The Fallen Sun* from sinking. On him, troubled in tweed is a good look. —S.Z.

Elba in action: tonight there's gonna be a jailbreak

Great Oscar nominees to watch now

Eight worthy films and performances to check out before the awards ceremony on March 12

BY STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

INTERNATIONAL FEATURE

The Quiet Girl

Set in 1980s rural Ireland, Colm Bairead's understated drama about a withdrawn young girl (Catherine Clinch) who blossoms when she's sent off to spend a summer with kindly relatives is one of this year's gently glittering gems.

ANIMATED FEATURE

Marcel the Shell With Shoes On

Dean Fleischer-Camp uses the story of a lonely mollusk named Marcel (voiced by Jenny Slate) to fashion a gentle meditation on the importance of community and the ways in which loss can sometimes open a door to unexpected joy.

DOCUMENTARY FEATURE

All the Beauty and the Bloodshed

Laura Poitras' extraordinary documentary follows artist and activist Nan Goldin in her tireless—and ultimately successful—fight to bring down the Sackler family, longtime patrons of the arts whose fortunes were amassed largely from highly addictive opioids.

SUPPORTING ACTOR

Brian Tyree Henry

In Lila Neugebauer's *Causeway,* Henry plays an auto mechanic who befriends a recovering veteran (Jennifer Lawrence) even as he struggles with his own repressed trauma. This is an incandescent performance, muscular and delicate at once.

SUPPORTING ACTRESS

Hong Chau

Terrific performances can make a not-so-great movie more than worthwhile. Hong Chau's superb turn in Darren Aronofsky's well-intentioned but drab drama *The Whale* is a case in point: she brings spiky empathy to her role as a frustrated caregiver doing her best to save the life of Brendan Fraser's reclusive, morbidly obese English professor.

COSTUME DESIGN

Mrs. Harris Goes to Paris

This jubilant story of a cleaning lady in 1950s London (Lesley Manville) who falls in love with, and saves up to buy, a Dior original is pure pleasure. The dreamy—and historically accurate—costumes by Jenny Beavan are the crowning touch.

ACTOR

Paul Mescal

In Scottish director Charlotte Wells' quietly stunning debut feature *Aftersun,* Mescal gives a performance of shattering beauty as a young father trying to corral his own demons during a holiday getaway with his preteen daughter (Frankie Corio).

INTERNATIONAL FEATURE

EO

At 84, Polish filmmaker Jerzy Skolimowski has become something of an overnight sensation with *EO,* a tender but unsparing parable about the cruelty and kindness of humans as seen through the eyes of a onetime circus donkey.

Sign up for More to the Story, our weekly culture newsletter, at **time.com/newsletters**

A24 (4)

MSNBC FILMS

PRESENTS

WHEN TRUTH ISN'T TRUTH

THE RUDY GIULIANI STORY

SUNDAYS 10 PM ET

EPISODE 3
MARCH 5TH

FINAL EPISODE
MARCH 12TH

MSNBC

STREAMING ON peacock

MSNBC FILMS

TIME STUDIOS

From the archives

When Bill Hooper started work as an archivist for Time Inc. in 1980, the artifacts that told the story of TIME's history were housed on-site at the company's headquarters in the Time & Life Building. The archives moved to the New-York Historical Society in 2015, but Hooper remains a vital resource and source of knowledge about that past. In the walk-up to TIME's centennial, we spoke to Hooper about TIME's enduring influence and the colorful personalities behind the red border.

Hooper, at right, with Michael Ryan of the New-York Historical Society, in 2015

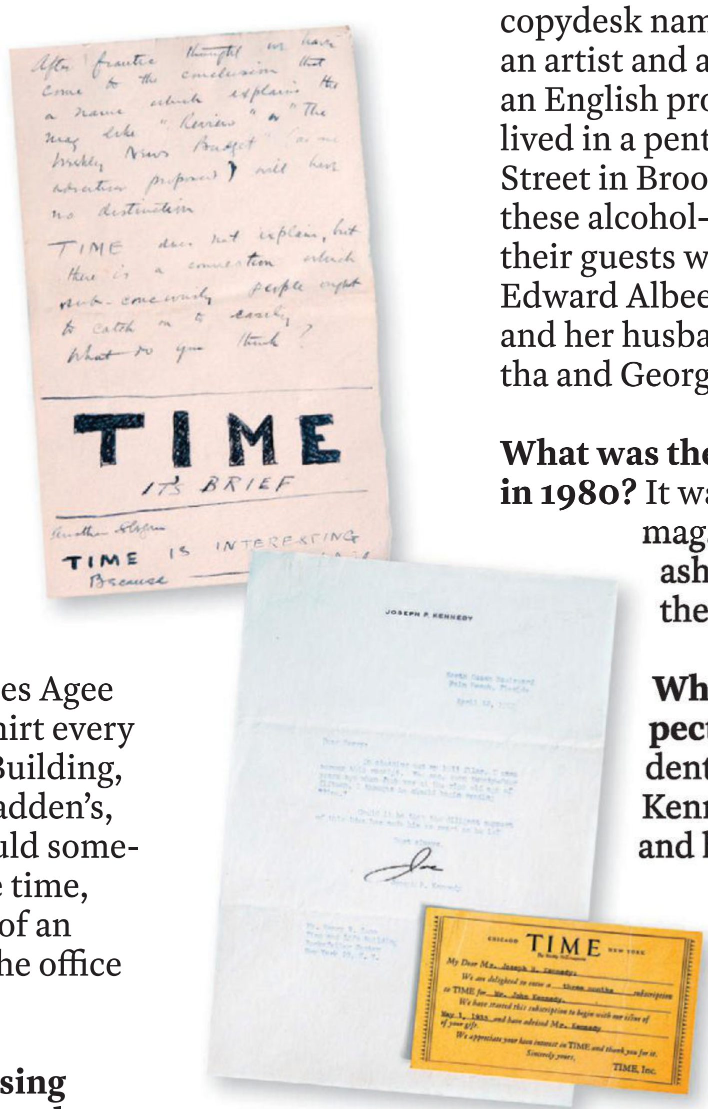
Henry Luce and Briton Hadden co-founded TIME, but I think it's fair to say that Luce is better known for it. Do you think the credit for the magazine's 1923 launch is fairly proportioned? I think he does [get more credit], just because Brit Hadden died so young [in 1929 at age 31]. It was Luce who built the empire, but Hadden was the editorial genius.

How so? He was very interested in language and brevity because he thought the *Literary Digest* and the New York *Times* were just too dense and that people were too busy to sift through all of that. He wanted to come up with a magazine that would get you all the news you needed in a week and break it down by sections—Theater, U.S. News, Medicine—which was fairly unique at that time. It was about getting the information to readers.

Are there any stories that stand out to you of writers or editors over the years who were real characters? James Agee always wore the same yellow flannel shirt every day. When TIME was in the Chrysler Building, John S. Martin, who was a cousin of Hadden's, always kept a rifle in his office and would sometimes shoot birds out the window. One time, a duck that he shot landed on the roof of an adjoining building, and he got one of the office boys to go over and retrieve it for him.

What are your favorite bits of surprising trivia about TIME you've learned over the years? One is the influence that TIME has had on the English language. It coined words like *mass market, Tex-Mex, nightclub, homophobia, commute, poster, racketeer, newscast, glitterati,* and *coffee break.*

Another thing that fascinated me was there was a woman who worked for years on the TIME copydesk named Marie Menken Maas. She was an artist and avant-garde filmmaker, married to an English professor at Wagner College. They lived in a penthouse apartment on Montague Street in Brooklyn Heights, and they would have these alcohol-fueled salons every weekend, and their guests were frequently Truman Capote and Edward Albee. Albee acknowledged that Marie and her husband were the inspirations for Martha and George in *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*


After frantic thought we have come to the conclusion that a name which explains the mag like "Review" or "The Weekly News Budget" (as we proposed) will have no distinction.

TIME does not explain, but there is a connotation which sub-consciously people ought to catch on to easily.

What do you think?

TIME

IT'S BRIEF

Another slogan

TIME IS INTERESTING

Because

JOSEPH P. KENNEDY

CHICAGO TIME NEW YORK

My Dear Mr. Joseph P. Kennedy:

We are delighted to enter a three months subscription to TIME for Mr. John Kennedy.

We have started this subscription to begin with our issue of May 1, 1933 and have advised Mr. Kennedy of your gift.

We appreciate your keen interest in TIME and thank you for it.

Sincerely yours,

TIME, Inc.

Luce's sketch of a logo in a letter to his parents, top, and JFK's 1957 gift subscription card with cover letter, bottom

What was the office like when you started in 1980? It was the era of the cocktail cart on magazine closing nights. There were ashtrays in the elevators. I did love the coffee cart too.

What are some of your most unexpected finds in the archives? President John F. Kennedy's daddy Joseph Kennedy was going through his files, and he found a gift subscription card; he had given a subscription to JFK when he was a teenager, and thought Luce would like it. His letter to Luce was wondering if [TIME] was one of the things that made his son so smart.

Where do you see TIME's influence in other news coverage today? Brevity was something that they really focused on in the early days. With news sites now, there's an emphasis on the economy of language. Get the facts in here, but make your point and make it brief.

—OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

HOOPER: SAM HODGSON—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; ARCHIVES: FAN CHEN FOR TIME (2)

ARE YOU FEELING SLUGGISH
AND WEIGHED DOWN?

take the
2 WEEK
CHALLENGE
Sign up today at
Metamucil.com
Meta
MUCIL
PSYLLIUM FIBER SUPPLEMENT
4-in-1 FIBER
SUGAR-FREE
ORANGE
with stevia
PREMIUM BLEND
on-the-go!

Try the Metamucil 2 Week Challenge
and feel what lighter feels like
by promoting regularity*

*THESE STATEMENTS HAVE NOT BEEN EVALUATED BY THE FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION. THIS PRODUCT IS NOT INTENDED TO DIAGNOSE, TREAT, CURE, OR PREVENT ANY DISEASE.

Creating infinity
Yayoi Kusama
LOUIS VUITTON